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ABSTRACT

The ideal of a world where bilingualism or multilingualism is a normal and accepted feature is promoted in a commissioned report for International Literacy Year. It is noted that many minority groups are forced into bilingualism as a necessity for survival, but that those skills are rarely seen as an advantage and often seen as a cause of dissention and conflict. There are few international standards for the maintenance and promotion of linguistic human rights. Ideologies and examples of the education of minority children are discussed, along with a comparison of different educational programs (segregation, maintenance, submersion, immersion). The question of whether children or schools are deficient is also discussed, as well as mother tongue literacy and universal primary education. A preliminary Declaration on Linguistic Rights is presented that is intended to serve as a model for a United Nations standard. Excerpts from five international declarations on human rights are included. Contains 46 references. (LB)

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Language, Literacy and Minorities

A Minority Rights Group Report

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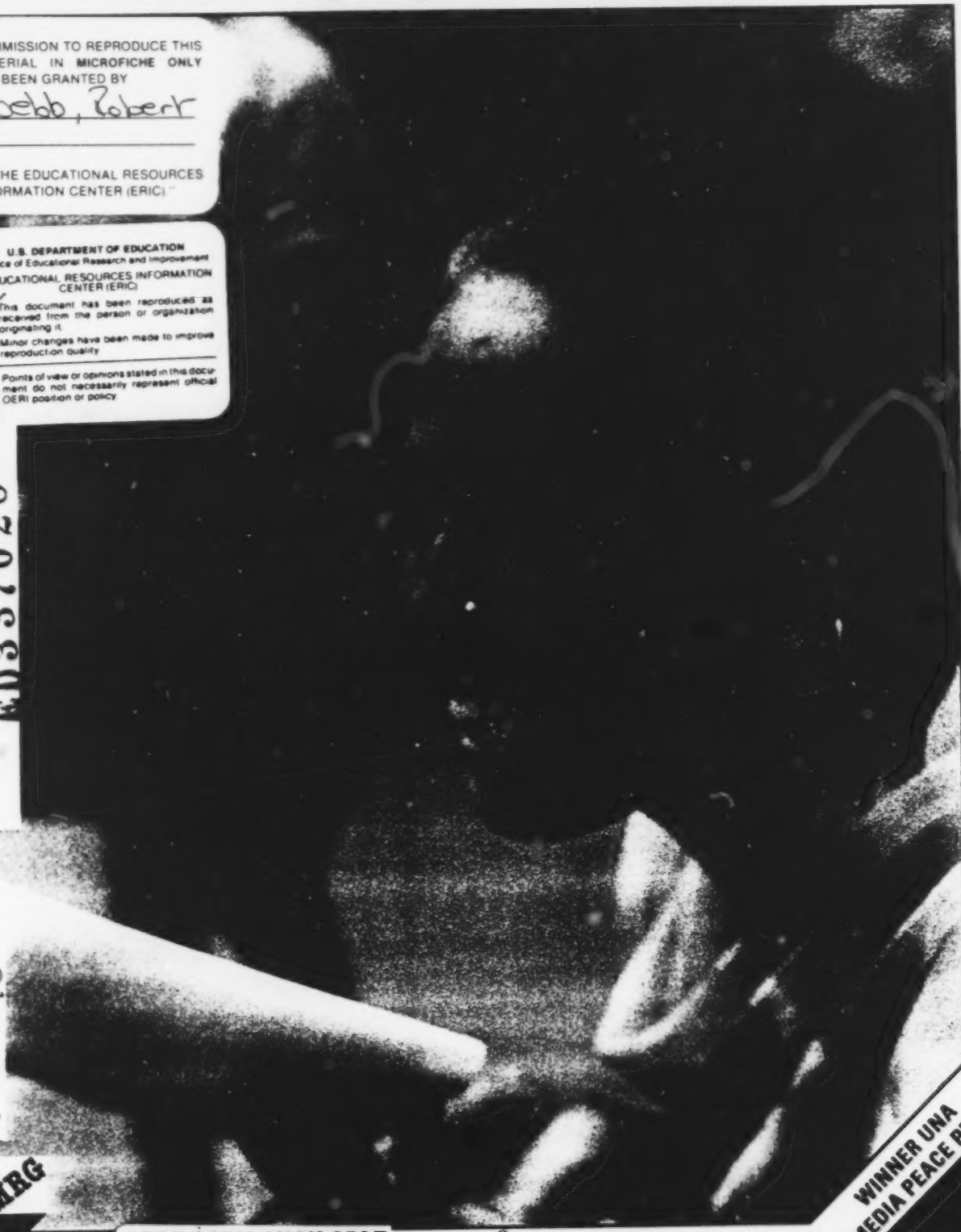

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is an international research and information unit registered in Britain as an educational charity under the Charities Act of 1960. Its principal aims are –

- To secure justice for minority or majority groups suffering discrimination, by investigating their situation and publicising the facts as widely as possible, to educate and alert public opinion throughout the world.
- To help prevent, through publicity about violations of human rights, such problems from developing into dangerous and destructive conflicts which, when polarised, are very difficult to resolve; and
- To foster, by its research findings, international understanding of the factors which create prejudiced treatment and group tensions, thus helping to promote the growth of a world conscience regarding human rights.

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Language, Literacy and Minorities

DR TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS

Map	7
Tables	9, 11, 16, 18, 23, 27
Figure	28
Preface	5
Introduction	6
Concept definitions	9
The education of minority children: ideologies and examples	14
Comparison of different educational programmes	17
Stages in Minority education: deficient children or deficient schools	22
Mother tongue literacy and Universal Primary Education (UPE)	24
Linguistic human rights	27
Conclusions	31
Footnotes	32
Select bibliography	34

Dr TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS is a researcher who specializes in the issues of minority education, bilingualism, language and power. Her work includes two influential reports on minority education for UNESCO in the 1970s, and she is the author of many books and articles. She has worked very closely with indigenous and immigrant minority groups, primarily in Scandinavia. She has been bilingual from birth in Swedish and Finnish and currently lives in Denmark.

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Cover photo: Alan Rogers
Adult literacy class, Bangladesh

THE UN UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1948)

ARTICLE 19
'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.'

ARTICLE 26
(1) 'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
(2)Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations, racial or religious groups, and shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.'

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS
(adopted 1966, in force from 1976)

ARTICLE 13
(1) '... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace'

DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (1988)

ARTICLE 16
'... a child shall not be denied the right in community with other members of its group to enjoy its own culture, to profess and practise its own religion or to use its own language'.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS
(adopted 1950, in force from 1953)

FIRST PROTOCOL 2
'No person should be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the rights of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.'

UNITED NATIONS DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR INDIGENOUS RIGHTS (1989)

9 The right to develop and promote their own languages, including an own literary language and to use them for administrative, juridicial, cultural and other purposes.
10 The right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own languages, and to establish, structure, conduct and control their own educational systems and institutions.
23 The [collective] right to autonomy in matters relating to their own internal and local affairs, including education, information, culture, religion, health, housing, social welfare, traditional and other economic activities, land and resources administration and the environment, as well as internal taxation for financing these autonomous functions.

PREFACE

In December 1987, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1990 as 'International Literacy Year', and that a concerted effort would be launched to rid the world of illiteracy by the end of the century. In March 1990, UNESCO's Director-General, Federico Mayor, succeeded in winning the support of UNICEF, the UN Development Programme and the World Bank to make global literacy 'an absolute priority for the next decade'.

There are compelling reasons for such a campaign. Literacy can provide a basis for economic, social and cultural development, on a national and individual level. UNICEF research has shown that four years of schooling can change the pattern of a woman's life and increase her family's chances of survival, from preventive health measures to family planning, to agricultural production. Yet the problem is a massive one worldwide. In 1990 there were an estimated 960 million adult illiterates (ie. above fifteen years of age), and over 125 million children between the ages of six and 11 years who were not enroled in school and were therefore at risk of remaining illiterate as adults.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America illiteracy rates are especially high; for example in sub-Saharan Africa male illiteracy is 66% and female illiteracy a staggering 83%. Although most countries have experienced a fall in the proportion of adult illiterates, rapid population growth meant that their total numbers increased. While the industrialized countries of the North had few total illiterates there were many 'functional illiterates' – those without sufficient literacy skills to be able to participate satisfactorily in employment, educational and social opportunities. In the United States, for example, functional illiteracy is estimated to range from 5% to 25%, depending on how it is defined.

The Minority Rights Group wished to contribute to International Literacy Year by drawing attention to the language and literacy rights of minorities. It therefore invited Dr. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, a noted researcher and writer on language and education, to write this personal report on some of the issues involved. Many people may find her analysis a challenge to preconceived ideas, others will no doubt feel that it is too extreme. However some members of minority groups may feel that it doesn't go far enough. It should prove of special value to educators, working with students from minority groups, whether as a group or in a mixed setting. What is important is that it should reach a varied audience prepared to listen to and discuss her message critically. New and better ways may then be found to tackle illiteracy among minority communities, despite their differing situations. The report will also contribute significantly to the Minority Rights Group's own discussion on this issue. For reasons of space, this report is an edited and shortened version by MRG of the original document submitted by the author. The Preface and Conclusions are those of MRG. A full script is available on special request.

While the benefits of universal literacy appear obvious there has been little focus on how illiteracy affects minority groups. This however is a matter of growing concern both to UNESCO and to a number of governments. If a minority is unable to fully exercise its human rights and faces discrimination from society, then it is reasonable to assume that it will also have higher rates of illiteracy. What is not always obvious is that in these cases illiteracy is also related to the position of minority languages, both in the education system and in society at large. If a minority group is denied access to education in its mother tongue, if that language is downgraded, denied recognition, ridiculed, or perceived as inferior, if (as in some areas of the world) that language is actively suppressed and those who speak or write it are persecuted, then a minority group is significantly disadvantaged and its human rights are being abused.

Minorities (and suppressed majorities) also need the opportunity to learn majority or dominant languages, in order to participate in a wider society. The crude attempts by the South African government in the mid-1970s to either confine (black) African education to 'native' languages or to Afrikaans, rather than English, was instrumental in sparking off the schoolchildren's revolt in Soweto. As this report demonstrates, it is necessary for minority children to have full access to majority languages for purposes of democracy and equal participation.

This report explicitly promotes the ideal of a world where bilingualism or multilingualism is a normal and accepted feature. It points out that many minority groups are forced into bilingualism, not as a result of their own choice but as a necessity for survival. But such skills are rarely seen as an advantage and often seen as a cause of dissension and conflict. Yet in a civilized society which respects human rights, a plurality of languages should be seen as an enrichment and as a reflection of a plurality of cultures. Most people assume that the right to use the language of choice in informal or official settings is a 'natural' human right. As the final part of this report demonstrates there are few international standards for the maintenance and promotion of linguistic human rights, though the situation is beginning to change. The importance of this issue is recognized by the UN in the Draft Declaration of Principles for Indigenous Rights and by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Human Dimension in its Concluding Document from Copenhagen. However most of those standards that do exist are not legally binding. The author presents a preliminary Declaration on Linguistic Rights intended to serve as a model for a UN standard. The Minority Rights Group is also working for linguistic rights through its advocacy of an UN Declaration for the Rights Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Racial, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. The adoption of international standards does not guarantee that minority rights will be invariably respected but it does provide a framework, both for states to aim for and for independent assessors to ensure that they are observed.

Alan Phillips
Executive Director
November 1990

INTRODUCTION
linguistic minorities and majorities

Minority education is a socially important and politically controversial topic which is of immediate relevance to most societies in the world. If 'minority' is defined in terms of power, not numbers, then all those groups whose mother tongues are not official languages in the countries where they live are linguistic minorities. The large majority of the world's states are de facto multilingual in the sense that several languages, native to the area, are spoken inside their borders. Some have a huge variety of languages, such as Nigeria, with over 500 languages, or India with over 1600 mother tongues claimed by its people. In most of the multilingual states of sub-Saharan Africa none of the indigenous languages are official in contrast to the official status awarded to various European languages even if some of the African languages have the status of 'national languages'.

In Europe there are only five states which can reasonably be called monolingual (only one language, native to the area, is spoken): Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Portugal and San Marino; on other continents there are hardly any. In only nine European states or self-governing territories are all the languages of the country recognized as official languages. Of these the five mentioned above are monolingual, three are bilingual (the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Republic of Ireland) and one is trilingual (Andorra). All other European countries contain speakers of non-immigrant languages which are not official languages.

Although there are more than 40 officially bi- or multilingual states, a majority of the nearly 200 states of the world are, despite their de facto multilingualism, officially monolingual, ie. they have only one official language. There is a tension between their monolingualism, which of course gives official recognition to one language, and the fact that these states together contain speakers of between 4000 to 5000 languages.[1] Less than 5% of the world's 4000 to 5000 linguistic groups live in a country where their mother tongues are official languages, and over 95% of them live in countries where their mother tongues are not official languages. Over 95% of the world's linguistic groups thus belong to linguistic minorities, according to the definition of a minority used in this report. By definition, official monolingualism means that, in the majority of cases, linguistic minorities experience violations of their linguistic human rights.

But '95% of the world's linguistic groups' do not correspond to '95% of the world's population', (even if they numerically make up a majority of the world's population). In fact many of those 4000-5000 languages have very few speakers, and several languages disappear every year while few new ones develop. In the author's opinion, this is a process whereby the world is killing its linguistic potential and diversity, just as it is killing its biological potential and diversity when hundreds of species of plants, insects and other living organisms are killed or allowed to die every year.[2] The killing of languages has occurred at an alarming rate from the time Europeans began "discovering" other continents, but, in the opinion of the author, the present generation is the most murderous generation in world history.

One of the most successful means of destroying or retarding languages has been, and remains, education, as is explained later in this report. In the period of European colonial domination the gun, used to control subject peoples, was preceded or followed by missionaries. Today the gun has been supplemented or replaced by technology supported by education, which comes with its own textbooks. These are no longer in the mother tongues of minorities as the Bible frequently was. And most of the new missionaries (expatriate teachers and experts) do not know the languages of the minorities. Moving from the age of the gun to the age of the textbook has meant that the impact of formal education worldwide has increased enormously, whereby the means of control have moved from actual use and threat of physical violence to psychological violence, from 'sticks' (punishment) to 'carrots' (rewards) and ideas. The use of power has become less visible, more structural and cultural, and the structures in which it is embedded larger and less transparent. In addition the criterion on the basis of which people are divided into groups that have unequal access to power and resources has shifted from biological 'race' to culture and language. All these changes will be discussed more concretely below.

Through education we are exposed to both the instruments (languages) and the ideological messages (cultural content) which are presently used to control us. Formal education reinforces the relative importance of different languages and cultures. It does it partly through the way it is organized, where some languages are media of education, ie. all subjects are taught in that language, some are learned as subjects and some not at all. It also does it through the ideological content of the instruction: what is said about different languages and cultures, explicitly or implicitly, and which languages are not mentioned at all. At the same time formal education is decisive for which languages are in fact learned and maintained. Most school systems in the world are both ideologically and through their organization, geared towards a norm of monolingualism in dominant majority languages/official languages. On the other hand, non-formal education structures, organized by minorities themselves, have in many places played a large part in the maintenance of minority languages.

Those individuals whose mother tongues do not happen to be official languages in the countries where they live, must become bilingual or multilingual. The majority of multilinguals are not multilingual because they necessarily consciously chose to become so. It is rather because all those people whose mother tongues have no official rights in their country have been forced to learn other languages in addition to their own. But since they have been forced precisely because of their powerless linguistic status, this means that they as a group have less power than those whose native language is an official language. English speaking Americans for example do not need to know any of the languages spoken in the United States apart from English, while native Americans and Chicanas need to learn English in addition to their mother tongues.

If linguistic minority children want to be able to speak to their parents or grandparents, know about their history and culture, and know who they are, they have to know their mother tongue, for reasons of identity. If they want to get a good education, which is usually not available in their own language, at least not to the same extent as in the official language, and to participate in the social, economic and political life of their country, they have to know the official language, for reasons of equal participation. (It is important to note, that bilingualism in any two languages is not enough. Minority children need to know at least their mother tongue and its culture, and the dominant language of the wider society and its concomitant culture. Many Aborigines in Australia know their own language and several other Aboriginal languages but it is not enough; they must know English too). It should be the duty of the educational system

to assist them to become bilingual, since bilingualism is a necessity for them as individuals and is a necessity for reasons of democracy.

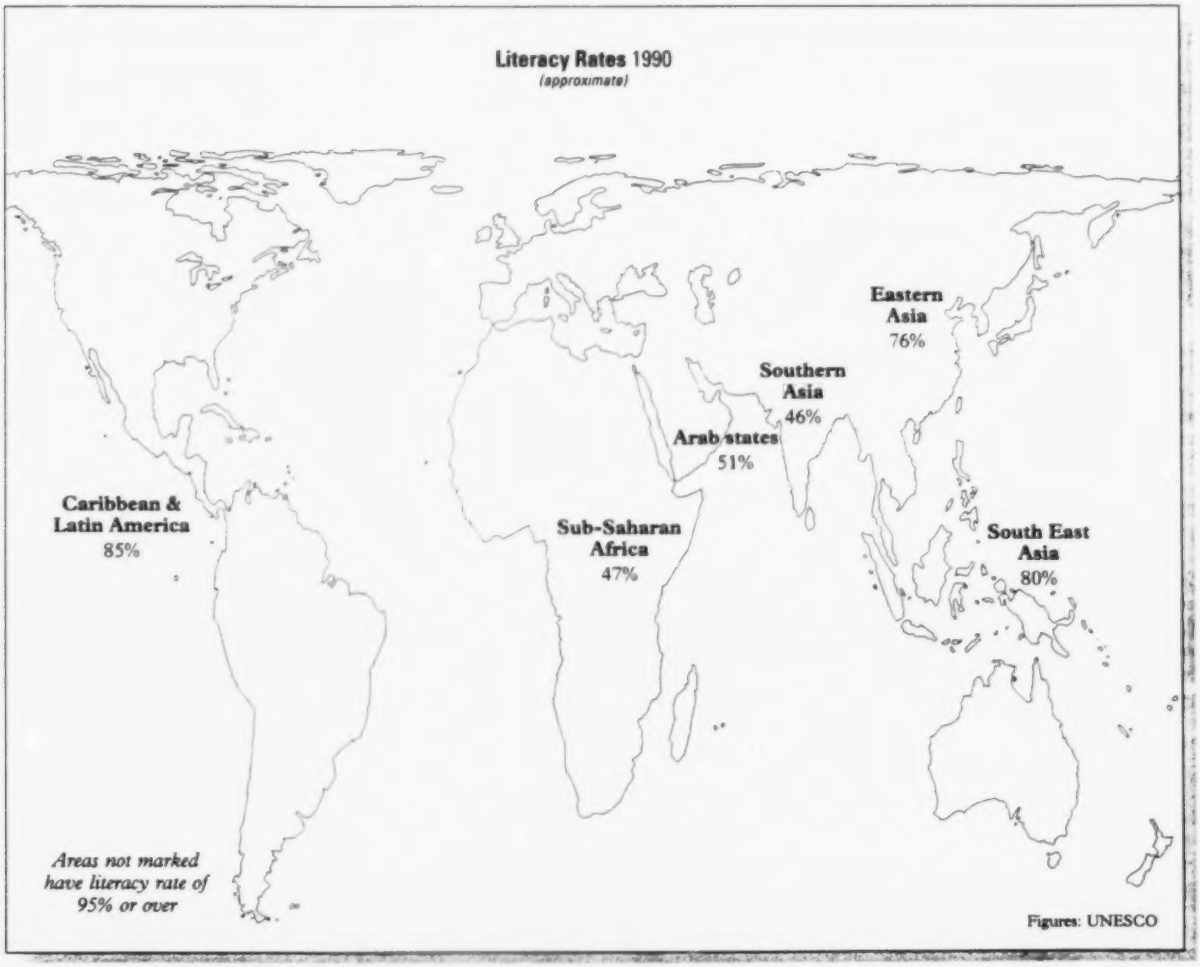
Those 'less than 5% of the world's linguistic groups' that belong to the world's linguistic majorities in the sense that their mother tongues are official languages in the countries where they live, are very diverse. They include groups which are numerically small, like the speakers of Icelandic on Iceland with 250,000 people, and groups which are numerically gigantic, like the over 1000 million speakers of Chinese with all its dialects. More importantly, the speakers of these languages, even though numerically a minority in the world, belong to a very powerful numerical minority, namely the minority which has been able to function in most life situations in their own country through the medium of their mother tongue. They have therefore never been forced to learn another language, except for (voluntary) enrichment. Native speakers of these languages (Chinese, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, etc.) in countries where these languages are official languages have as a group more power and resources, more possibilities to decide about their own lives (and that of others) and higher standards of living (measured by conventional standards) than the (multilingual) speakers of the rest of the world's 95% of languages together as a group.

Should we aim at monolingual states and individuals?

Why are monolinguals more powerful and why are so many states officially monolingual? Is it because monolingualism is a better state of affairs than multilingualism, for individuals, for states? If so, should all peoples and states become monolingual? Should minority education be geared towards monolingualism? These are only a few basic questions about minority and majority languages, of monolingual and multilingual individuals and monolingual or multilingual states.

It is sometimes assumed, either implicitly or explicitly, that those who are monolingual need not learn other languages because their mother tongues (English, Chinese, Russian, French, etc.) are better and more developed than other languages. Maybe 'smaller' languages are small because they in fact are somehow more 'primitive'?

From a linguistic point of view, all languages, spoken natively by a group of people, have equal worth. All are logical, cognitively complex, and capable of expressing any thoughts and concepts (provided enough resources are being devoted to cultivation, creation of new lexical items, among other things). This does not mean that the 'same' concept has the same connotations (ie. associations, feelings, value judgements) in different languages. But all connotations can



be expressed in any language, even if we may need long explanations in language X to express what in language Y is one word – and vice versa. There is no such thing as 'primitive languages'. On linguistic grounds all languages could have the same rights, the same possibilities of being learned fully, developed and used in all situations by their speakers.

Different languages have different political rights, not dependent on any inherent linguistic characteristics, but dependent on the power relationships between the speakers of those languages. Thus all languages in the world, including sign languages, are equally well able to have official rights and recognition. (The only exception might be artificial languages, not spoken natively by any group of people, and even some of them, such as Esperanto, are in the process of becoming first languages for some people).

Of all the arguments which have been used to show that some languages are 'better' than others, because of what they 'are', 'have' or 'can do', only some of the 'have' arguments (English has more textbooks, literature, teachers) and a few of the 'can do' arguments ("Through English you can get access to more information on science and technology") are true. The rest are simply false.[3] And the ones which are 'true' are a result of unequal division of power and resources whereby some languages have had at their disposal more resources for their development.

Are monolingual individuals somehow cognitively better equipped than multilinguals, because they have been able to devote all their energies to one language? Is that why they have more power and resources? Is it not a burden to have to learn many languages?

High-level bilinguals who know both their languages well, do better than comparable monolinguals on tests which measure general intellectual factors, cognitive flexibility, divergent thinking, different aspects of creativity and of metalinguistic awareness (sensitivity to feedback cues, separating form and content, etc.).[4] If children are allowed to develop their bi- or multilingualism properly throughout the educational process, this enhances several aspects of their intellectual development, over and above what would have been probable for them as monolinguals. The fact that many multilinguals have done, and still do, poorly on tests and in school is a result of neglect of one of their languages, normally their mother tongue, a generally badly-planned education, and biased research; not their bilingualism.[5] They have not had a chance to develop to high-level bi- or multilinguals.

Every ordinary child can become bilingual. It may take a bit more effort than becoming monolingual, but since much of children's intellectual capacity is under-used anyway, it should not be an insuperable obstacle. If all the children in the world (including present monolinguals) were to be helped to develop bi- or multilingualism through education (a perfectly feasible goal), the 'intelligence' pool of the world would grow in hitherto unforeseen ways.

Is multilingualism necessarily causally connected to poverty and monolingualism to prosperity? Or are monolingually oriented nations rather richer than those who have a considerable linguistic diversity, because the former follow cultural patterns, built on competition and glorification of power as the highest value, which has enabled them to exploit, with less scruples, other (multilingual) countries and peoples with cultural patterns built on more cooperative and humanistic values?[6] Pool[7] summarized his conclusions to an extensive study: 'a planner who insists on preserving cultural-linguistic pluralism had better be ready to sacrifice economic progress'. Kenneth McRae, who has studied multilingual Belgium, Switzerland, Finland and Canada in depth is slightly more optimistic: '...high levels of political and economic development are compatible with the existence of two (or possibly more) significant language communities but probably not with more extreme linguistic fragmentation'.[8] Joshua Fishman, who has pursued the question of the relationship between multilingualism and poverty for decades,[9] wishes with his new study to get more support for his hope that 'it is not impossible to pursue (via modern planning methods) both economic development and ethnolinguistic heterogeneity together, as joint rather than as mutually exclusive goals'.[10]

There are in fact examples of prosperous countries, regions and districts with official and informal multilingualism (not just bilingualism), such as Switzerland or parts of the USSR, and districts like South Kanara in India (where the majority of the people use four to five languages).[11] Likewise, neither factual nor official monolingualism has ensured economic prosperity to all countries and districts, for example Portugal or many African and Latin American countries where official monlingualism in a former colonial language (which is virtually nobody's mother tongue) has been forced onto a multilingual population. Besides, 'each language is equally economic for the group speaking it', answers Debi Pattanayak[12] to the question: 'aren't too many languages economically wasteful?'

Does multilingualism divide a nation whereas one language unites it? Or can national unity only be built on respect for the languages and cultures of all peoples who make up the nation? This question is discussed in this report in connection with the principles behind Universal Primary Education and the conclusion is closer to the latter proposition.

Is state monolingualism, then, a rational imperative, and a sign of a mature state which has made substantial progress toward an inevitable, but at the same time desirable, goal. Or is it rather a wasteful and irrational state of affairs and in fact a reflection of linguicism (an ideology akin to racism), the domination of one language at the expense of others? In the author's experience the evidence seems to point in the direction of the latter. And at the educational/individual level this report concludes that bilingualism or multilingualism is a necessary educational goal for all linguistic minority children, and a desirable goal for all children.

The next question asked by this report is whether present educational policy and practice in fact tries to make linguistic minority children bilingual? How is their education organized, and what are the results? The third section of the report gives a few examples of the role of education for some minorities. Then it introduces a means of comparing the success of educational programmes in different countries in reaching the goal of bilingualism. It presents several types of programmes and compares them in terms of factors which are necessary as preconditions for succeeding in making children bilingual. The analysis shows that most countries do not organize the education of minority children so that they will succeed in becoming bilingual.

CONCEPT DEFINITIONS

Introduction

In this section several central concepts are defined, partly to give some of the basic tools for working with the main issues in this report, partly for conceptual clarity and because language both signals and helps to construct social reality. Some of the definitions are more 'technical' in the sense that the (precise meaning of the) concepts may not be known outside a narrow professional circle. 'Submersion', 'immersion' and 'linguicism' are of this kind. Some are used in everyday language and all of us 'know' what they mean, but more precise definitions are needed for this report. 'Mother tongue', 'bilingual', 'assimilation' and 'racism' belong to this group. Some can be defined in several different ways, and the way they are used here may not be the most common one.

Often (but not always) the choice of definition is connected with either a clear, conscious choice of attitude towards the phenomenon, or unawareness of what attitudes a certain use implies (and signals to others). The objectivity aimed at by the author in this report is based on openness about one's own biases instead of value-neutrality (which is not seen as possible to achieve in any case), and this can be seen in the definitions chosen. This kind of openness is extremely important in relation to an issue which is as politically sensitive and controversial as minority education.

Mother tongue

Defining 'mother tongue' is necessary because it is increasingly unclear to many educators what their pupils' mother tongues are. Proper definitions are also needed for many official purposes (census, right to services which are given on the basis of mother tongue, assessment of linguistic qualifications for education, employment, etc.). It also gives a better opportunity to assess whether minority and majority mother tongues have the same rights or whether majority mother tongues are given more institutional support (institutions in the abstract sense of laws and regulations, and in the concrete sense of day care centres, schools, etc.; for details see Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, Chapters 2-4).

There are several different ways of defining a mother tongue. This report uses four different criteria for the definitions: origin, competence, function and identification (as illustrated in Table 1).

The author puts forward three theses (1-3) and one claim (4) about the definitions:

1. A person can have several mother tongues, especially according to definitions by origin and identification, but also according to the other criteria;

2. The same person can have different mother tongues, depending on which definition is used;

3. A person's mother tongue can change during her lifetime, even several times, according to all other definitions except the definition by origin;

4. The mother tongue definitions can be organized hierarchically according to their degree of linguistic human rights' awareness. This degree in a society can be assessed by examining which definition(s) the society uses in its institutions, explicitly and implicitly.

Linguistic human rights will be discussed in more detail in a later section of this report. In the author's opinion it is a linguistic human right to identify with one's mother tongue(s), to learn the mother tongue(s) fully, to use it/them in official contexts and to learn (one of) the official language(s) in the country where one is resident.

All three theses have to be kept in mind, especially because monolinguals often seem to have some difficulty in grasping the consequences which derive from them.[13] The claim about the definitions is the most interesting one from the point of view of the topic of this report and of linguicism. In the author's view, the definition by function is the most primitive one ('this Turkish child speaks German/ Dutch/ Danish/ English all day long at the day care centre/in school, much more than Turkish, she even uses German with siblings, so German/ Dutch/ Danish/ English must be the child's mother tongue'). Use of this definition does not consider the fact that most minority children are forced to use a second or foreign language (hereafter referred to as L2) because there are no facilities in their mother tongue or first language (hereafter referred to as L1). The children and their parents have not themselves been given a chance to choose freely, from among existing alternatives, which language they would like to use in day care and school. This definition is, explicitly or implicitly, used in educational institutions in many European immigration countries.

When the degree of awareness starts to rise, the next definition, also primitive, is used, namely, the definition by competence ('the Turkish children could not even count in their so-called mother tongue', says a well-known linguist, implying that Swedish in which the children had been taught how to count, was their mother tongue, because they knew it better than Turkish). Use of this definition fails to consider that lack of proficiency in the original mother tongue is a result of not having been offered the opportunity to use and learn the original mother tongue well enough in those institutional settings where many children spend most of their day (day care centres, schools, organized after-school activities). A poor competence in the original mother tongue (which is a result of the neglect of the mother tongue in institutions earlier on ie. a result of earlier oppression), is then often used to legitimate additional oppression. The child is labelled as a majority language speaker, or she is denied teaching in the original mother tongue on the grounds that she does not know it well enough or because she knows the majority language better. Many indigenous people (Sami in the Nordic countries, Aborigines in Australia etc.) are officially not counted as members of the group if they no longer know the original mother tongue (which they have

Table 1 Definitions of 'mother tongue'

Criterion	Definition
1. *origin*	the language one learned first
2. *identification*	
a. internal	the language one identifies with
b. external	the language one is identified as a native speaker of by others
3. *competence*	the language one knows best
4. *function*	the language one uses most

From Skutnabb-Kangas, T.
Bilingualism or Not – the Education of Minorities, 1984a, p18

been prevented from learning). The dwindling numbers can then be used to legitimate the lack of services in the indigenous language.[14] The same numbers game is used to deny services in immigrant minority languages.

Use of a combination of definitions by origin and identification shows the highest degree of awareness of linguistic human rights: **The mother tongue is the language one has learned first and identifies with.**

Use of a definition of function or competence in educational institutions when defining a minority child's mother tongue reflects cultural and institutional linguicism. This can be open (the agent does not try to hide it), conscious (the agent is aware of it), visible (it is easy for non-agents to detect) and actively action-oriented (as opposed to merely attitudinal). This is typical of the early phases of the history of minority education, as described in later sections of this report. Or it can be hidden, unconscious, invisible and passive (lack of support rather than active opposition), typical of the later phases of minority education development. Those countries which have developed more sophisticated, culturally and linguistically (rather than biologically) oriented forms of racism, typically also exhibit this more sophisticated form of linguicism which blames the victim in subtle ways, by colonizing her consciousness.

The above recommended mother tongue definition implies that the language identified with is the original mother tongue, the language learned first. But in a society with institutional and cultural linguicism and discrimination, not all minority children are allowed to identify positively with their original mother tongues and cultures.

Many minority children are being forced to feel ashamed of their mother tongues, their parents, their origins, their group and their culture. Many of them, especially in countries where the racism is more subtle, not so openly expressed, internalize the negative views which the majority society has of minority groups, their languages and cultures. Many disown their parents and their own group and language. They attempt to shift identity 'voluntarily', and want to be German/ Dutch/ Anglo-American/ British/ Swedish/ Turkish, etc., instead of, respectively, Turkish/ Moluccan/ Mexican/ Pakistani/ Finnish/ Kurdish.

Often this does not work either. The child's new majority identity is not accepted by everybody. This is generally expressed more openly in the years after adolescence, and it is more common with young people who do not look like the stereotype of what a 'real' German, Dutch, etc. person 'should' look like, and/or with youngsters whose accent does not sound 'native'. The minority youth then may frequently hear: 'You are not one of us, you are not a real Swede/ American/ Dutch/ German/ Dane, etc., you are a Finnish devil/a Turkshit/a damn Paki, etc'.

The child has then 'voluntarily' disowned her original identity, but the new identity is not accepted by all the people from the majority group either. There is a conflict between the internal and the external identification (endo- and exo-identification). The adolescent is not accepted, at least not unconditionally, by the majority group, with which she has been forced to identify (but whose language and culture she has not been given the opportunity to learn 'fully').[15] At the same time the road back to her own group is often closed. Not only psychologically (she does not want to identify with the 'dirty Turks' or 'aggressive silent Finns'), but often also linguistically and culturally. The child no longer knows (or has never had the chance to learn) the original mother tongue 'properly'. Nor does she have all the components of cultural competence in the original culture. One of the purposes of an International Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights is a need to avoid such negative situations.

Bilingualism

Later in this report it is claimed that majorities are mostly interested in the part of the bilingualism goal which has to do with the learning of the majority language by minority children. The mother tongues of the minority children are tolerated in the curriculum only if the teaching of them leads to a better proficiency in the majority language. The minorities themselves, partly as a result of this, have to put strong emphasis on the learning of the mother tongue and demand mother tongue learning as a linguistic human right. But minorities do, of course, want their children to also learn the majority languages fully. They want their children to become bilingual, not monolingual or strongly dominant in either of the two languages.

One of the confusing facts has been that many majority educational authorities also claim that they want minority children to become bilingual. But when this claim is analyzed, it often transpires that the definitions of bilingualism as an educational goal used by majorities and minorities are different. This is one of the reasons why it is imperative to define 'bilingual' every time the term is used. There are literally hundreds of definitions. The author has organized them according to the same criteria which she used in the mother tongue definitions, and represents some examples in Table 2.

When majority educational authorities talk about bilingualism as a goal for the education of immigrant or indigenous minority children, they often appear to mean either a non- demanding competence definition (for instance 3d or 3e) or the most general function definition (uses two languages). But minorities would prefer to use a combination of 2, 3 and 4, a definition which makes sure that the speaker has the chance to learn and use both languages at a very high level and to identify positively with both. The definitions used by the majority authorities confirm the picture of linguicism, because there are almost no demands made on the minority child's competence in her mother tongue. It is often left to the home to teach it, and 'taxpayers' money' should not go into supporting private ethnicity', as is sometimes claimed by some authorities and researchers.[16] What they do not seem to appreciate, however, is that minorities are also taxpayers and that majority children's private ethnicity is supported through all taxpayers' money in state-run schools.

The author's definition is specifically planned so as to fit the situation of immigrant and indigenous minority children. The goal of minority education should be to make the children bilingual according to this definition:

'A speaker is bilingual who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or multilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made on an individual's communicative and cognitive competence by these communities and by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able identify positively with both (or all) language groups (and cultures) or part of them'.[17]

The implications of this definition for the educational system

are far-reaching, and should be compared with the implications of less demanding definitions.[18]

Minority/majority

The terms 'minority' and 'majority' will here be defined in terms of power relationships, not in terms of numbers (even if these often coincide).[19] If 'majority' is used to refer to a numerically strong but politically weak group (like 'blacks' in South Africa), this is marked by calling them a 'powerless majority', implying that they have the capacity to become a 'real' majority, ie. to get access to their fair share of power and resources. Several numerical minorities which together form a numerical majority and have approximately equal status when compared to each other, can also be seen as a majority. Groups like the 'white' group in South Africa which is numerically a minority but in terms of power a 'majority' can also be marked by calling them 'powerful minorities'. In general, using labels like 'majority' and 'minority' can be misleading and unsatisfactory also because they obscure the class differences and the cultural differences both between and, especially, within these groups, and makes them appear much more homogeneous than they are. The enormous heterogeneity of both 'majorities' and 'minorities' should be constantly borne in mind. Within each group there are contradictory and conflicting views, and this is one source of change in society.

Table 2 **Definitions of bilingualism**

Criterion	Definition
	a speaker is bilingual who
1. ***origin***	a. has learned two languages in the family from native speakers from the beginning b. has used two languages in parallel as means of communication from the beginning
2. ***identification***	
internal	a. identifies herself as bilingual/with two languages and/or two cultures (or parts of them)
external	b. is identified by others as bilingual/as a native speaker of two languages
3. ***competence***	a. has complete mastery of two languages b. has native-like control of two languages c. has equal mastery of two languages d. can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language e. has at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the other language f. has come into contact with another language
4. ***function***	a. uses (or can use) two languages (in most situations) (in accordance with her own wishes and the demands of the community)

From Skutnabb-Kangas, T.,
Bilingualism or Not – the Education of Minorities, 1984a, p91

Racism, ethnicism, linguicism

The earlier forms of biologically based racism grouped together carefully chosen visible (skin colour) or less visible (blood groups, skull form etc) purportedly biological 'characteristics' to function as defining criteria for 'races'. Various psychological 'characteristics' were then linked with or attributed to the resulting 'races'. These were then organized into hierarchies (hierarchized) on the basis of an evaluation of 'their' (first 'alterable', later on 'unalterable', 'inherited') psychological characteristics. Some 'races' were then seen as more fit to rule than others. 'Races' and 'their' characteristics were thus socially constructed, and these ideological constructions were used to legitimate the unequal division of power and resources between the resulting 'races'. The ideology of biological racism legitimated the control and exploitation by the 'white' 'race' of other 'races'.[20]

When biological racism became untenable for several reasons, other criteria had to be found to continue to legitimate the unequal division of power and resources. In most countries biologically based racism is in the process of being replaced by more sophisticated forms of racism, ethnicism and linguicism.[21] These use the ethnicities, cultures and languages of different groups as defining criteria and as the basis for hierarchization.

Today it is no longer claimed (at least not openly) that certain 'races' are more fit to rule than others. Today it is certain ethnic groups, cultures and languages which are claimed to be fitter to rule than others, expand, and be learned by others. In a new social Darwinist twist the argument is that the ethnoses (ethnic groups), cultures and languages which are going to survive and expand will do so because they are more adapted to modern life, more developed or have more potential for development than others. Subsequently, the ruling groups ensure that the other ethnoses, cultures and languages get a lesser or no chance to survive. This is done through institutionally controllable measures such as education. Majority languages and cultures always somehow turn out to be the strongest survivors. And this can then be used as proof for the original thesis that they were the fittest.

In the author's opinion the ruling groups are still the same groups which benefitted from biological racism, namely 'white', urban, middle or upper class men (and a few women) with a high level of formal education and who are from the majority groups in overdeveloped countries. What is new is that they work together with the elites from undeveloped countries who share similar characteristics with them in all other aspects except skin colour and country.

Racism, ethnicism and linguicism are here defined as:
Ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of 'race', ethnicity/culture, or language.'

It is important to note that racism here is seen as both ideological and structural. Racism does not consist of a group of ill-willed, ignorant, misinformed people. Racism is not only people's attitudes or prejudices towards other individuals. Racism is not only an information problem ('Tell people about how worthwhile other people/groups and their cultures and languages are, and they start understanding and respecting these and racism disappears.') But neither is racism only concerned with the economic structure (labour markets, housing, etc.) or political power structures, which would continue to exist through institutions, regardless of people's thoughts and attitudes. It is seen as comprising ideologies and structures and practices.[22]

Assimilation, integration, ethnicity

Assimilation is here defined as:
'1. disappearance of distinctive ethnographical features, i.e. objectively the loss of specific elements of material and non-material culture and subjectively the loss of the feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group;
2. simultaneously, acquisition of traits belonging to another culture, which replace those of the former culture, accompanied by the subjective feeling of belonging to the second culture'.[23]

In most cases assimilation is forced assimilation. Minorities are forced through the same means which are normally used for control: 'sticks' (physical violence, force), 'carrots' (bargaining, gratifications) and ideas (persuasion). (See Section: *Education of Minority Children*). In the earlier phases of minority education (see section: *Stages in Minority Education*), minority children were often forced to leave their own languages and cultures through the use of 'sticks' physical means: separation from parents and physical punishment for speaking their own language. There are descriptions of this occurrence from all over the world. Now the same result is often achieved through 'carrots' and ideas, psychological means: positive reinforcement in relation to the majority languages, and shame and guilt in relation to the minority languages and cultures.

Integration is defined as:
'formation of a series of common features in an ethnically heterogeneous group'.[24]

'Integration' is still often used in many countries when in fact 'assimilation' is what is meant. For instance, the Swedish State Committee Against Racism and Xenophobia state in their final report:[25] 'There is reason to believe that some groups of immigrants will little by little integrate into Swedish society. But a probable development is also that other groups will maintain and specifically emphasize their ethnic distinctiveness'. According to this report, then, a group is not integrated if it maintains its ethnic distinctiveness – they have to lose it and become Swedish in order to integrate, ie. they have to assimilate. The quote also exhibits some other features, typical of how integration has been understood in many official reports and often also in research:

- integration is seen as a characteristic of the group or individual to be integrated ('minority person X or minority group Y is not integrated or is well integrated in the Z mainstream society'; 'X has not done enough to integrate in Z');

- integration is seen as a final result of a process. The minority goes through several phases in a process (initial segregation, functional adaptation, acculturation) and in the end it is seen as integrated;

- integration is seen as something that only the minority group/individual does. They integrate into something that is there, waiting ('Swedish society'), and it is the minority's degree of integration (and their 'wish to integrate') that is assessed ('Aborigines in Australia do not want to integrate') not the majority society's willingness or unwillingness to 'let them integrate' or the majority's willingness to do their part in the integration. 'Not being integrated' is seen as a negative cultural characteristic, partly a result of a conscious choice by the minority group/individual, and often used to legitimate unequal access to power and resources ('The Turks in Germany do not want to integrate, and therefore they should not have the right to vote in municipal elections either'; 'the Finns in Sweden do not want to integrate, they do not take Swedish citizenship. Therefore they cannot be allowed to vote in state elections either').

When integration is understood as a final result of a one-way process, this also has consequences for the way in which majority society is treated. When those who come as migrants or who are an indigenous minority are seen as those who have to change and to embrace the goals, ideals and identity of the new country or the majority society in order to fit into a virtually unchanged society, this society can continue to regard itself as the mainstream, and the mainstream is always regarded as integrated into 'its own' society. 'Being in the mainstream' is thus also treated as a characteristic, but a characteristic of the majority, a characteristic which they somehow possess in a natural way. Even in avowedly immigration countries such as Australia, dominant group policy may want 'to develop... mechanisms that would bring non-English-speaking minority groups into recognized relationships with the "mainstream" Australian group life' as Jerzy Zubrzycki, (following Jean Martin) presents this 'emasculated pluralism'. Minority groups have to participate 'in the shared and "universalistic structures" of the wider society'.[26]

This static and ethnocentric view where the whole burden of integration is placed on the incomer alone, and where the dominant group's values are presented as somehow 'shared' and 'universal' rather than particularistic and changing (as are all values), still prevails in many countries. When the majority population is presented in this way as an integrated mainstream, homogenously sharing universal cultural values, this characteristic legitimates its access to most of the power and resources (which are of course shared unevenly on a class and gender basis within the majority population – a fact little mentioned in the integration discussion).

In this report integration is not seen as a final product, or as a characteristic in the minority individual/group, or as something that only the minority has to do. Instead it is seen as a process and a socially constructed relation which the minority and the majority have to negotiate between themselves, and where both have to change. A majority can prevent integration by refusing to change itself, regardless of how ready a minority group is for integration. It is the degree of integration (and wish to integrate) of the whole society that has to be assessed. The results of the negotiation process about integration depend crucially on the power relationships between those who negotiate, the majority and the minorities.

Likewise, in this report ethnicity is seen as a relation, not as a characteristic of an ethnic group. The author sees three stages in the development of this ethnicity definition: exo-

definitions (identification by others), endo-definitions (self-identification) and ambo-definitions (relational identification). Both exo and endo-definitions attribute ethnicity to the ethnic group concerned as a characteristic of group or person. Many of these definitions of ethnicity list characteristics which a group has to possess in order to qualify as an ethnic group. For example Erik Allardt suggests that the group has to have:

1. self-categorization (self-identification);
2. common descent (factual or mythical);
3. specific cultural traits e.g. the capacity to speak a specific language;
4. a social organization for interaction both within the group and with people outside the group.[27]

According to Allardt there are no criteria for inclusion in an ethnic group that all the members of the group should fulfil. But it is necessary that some members fulfil all the criteria and every member must fulfill at least one criterion. Often most members fulfil all the criteria, but there are also some 'ethnic lukewarms' and 'ethnic self-haters' who do not categorize themselves as members despite fulfilling all the other criteria except self-categorization and despite being categorized as members by others.

Exo-definitions define people as members of an ethnic group on the basis of one or more of the criteria, regardless of whether the people themselves are self-categorized as members. On the other hand, forced other categorizations are seen by many researchers[28] as violations of basic human rights. According to a human rights oriented argumentation, it should be the right of every individual and group to have their own definition of their ethnic group membership accepted and respected by others. Consequently, only endo-definitions (definitions by self, self-identification) would be valid.

But in the same way as 'a state' does not become a state just by proclaiming itself a state, but needs validation (acceptance of its statehood) by other states (ie. an exo definition) in order to exist, ethnicity needs validation from others and cannot be based on self-identification only. If the Kurds in the area of Kurdistan currently part of the Turkish state, say that they belong to the Kurdish ethnos, while the Turkish state says that Kurds do not exist, the Kurds are in several senses made invisible as an ethnos. The right to decide yourself who you are, which should be a human right, works only when the power relationships between the parties who negotiate about a group's or an individual's ethnic identity are equal.[29]

This way of looking at ethnicity also makes it easier to see why refusing to accept the ethnic self-identification of a group/individual and forcing the group/individual to take on another ethnic (and linguistic) identity, is similar, regardless of whether it is done in brutal ways (as Turkey does) or in more sophisticated ways, through making a child want to change language and ethnic self-identification. Ethnic groups and languages can be killed both through brutal physical force and through shame and invisibility. Ethnicism and linguicism are more sophisticated but equally efficient weapons as biological racism in committing ethnocide, the destruction of the socio-cultural (often including linguistic) identity of a group.

Submersion, transition, immersion, language shelter (maintenance) and segregation programmes

A submersion or 'sink-or-swim' programme is a programme where linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through the medium of a foreign majority language with high status, in classes where some children are native speakers of the language of instruction, where the teacher does not understand the mother tongue of the minority children, and where the majority language constitutes a threat to minority children's mother tongue, which runs the risk of being displaced or replaced (is not being learned [properly]; is 'forgotten'; does not develop because the children are forbidden to use it or made to feel ashamed of it) – a subtractive language learning situation. This is the most common – and most disastrous – method in the present world to educate minority children.

In another variant of a submersion programme powerless majority children (or groups of minority children in a country with no decisive numerical and/or power majorities) are forced to accept instruction through the medium of a foreign (often former colonial) high- status language (because mother tongue medium education does not exist) in mixed mother tongue classes, mostly without native speakers of the language of instruction. But it also happens in linguistically homogenous classes, sometimes because mother tongue medium education does not exist and sometimes because the school or the teachers hesitate to implement a mother tongue medium programme. The teacher may or may not understand the mother tongue of (some of) the children. The foreign language of instruction is not learned properly, at the same time as the children's mother tongues are being displaced and not learned (properly) either in formal domains (for instance literacy is not achieved). Often the children are made to feel ashamed of their mother tongues or at least to believe in the superiority of the language of instruction.[30]

A transitional programme is a programme where linguistic minority children with a low- status mother tongue are initially instructed through the medium of their mother tongue for a few years and where their mother tongue has no intrinsic value, only an instrumental value. It is used only in order for the children to learn the majority language better, and so as to give them some subject matter knowledge while they are learning the majority language. As soon as they can, to some extent, function in the majority language orally, they are transferred to a majority language medium programme. A transitional programme is a more sophisticated version of submersion programmes, a more 'human' way of assimilation. These programmes are common in the education of migrant children in some of the more progressive settings (Sweden, Netherlands, USA, etc.). They are also used in parts of 'Anglophone' Africa.

An immersion programme is where linguistic majority children with a high-status mother tongue voluntarily choose (among existing alternatives) to be instructed through the medium of a foreign (minority) language, in classes with majority children with the same mother tongue only, where the teacher is bilingual so that the children in the beginning can use their own language, and where their mother tongue is in no danger of not developing or of being replaced by the language of instruction – an additive language learning situation. Canada has been the pioneer of immersion programmes.[31]

A language shelter programme or maintenance programme is

a programme where linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue voluntarily choose (among existing alternatives) to be instructed through the medium of their own mother tongue, in classes with minority children with the same mother tongue only, where the teacher is bilingual and where they get good teaching in the majority language as a second/foreign language, also given by a bilingual teacher. A segregation programme is a programme where linguistic minority children with a low status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through the medium of their own mother tongue (or the national language of their country of origin – such as Kurdish children from Turkey in Bavaria) in classes with minority children (with the same mother tongue) only, where the teacher may be monolingual or bilingual but is often poorly trained, where the class or school has poorer facilities and less resources then classes and schools for majority children, and where the teaching of the dominant language as a second/foreign language is poor or non-existent.

'One of the crucial forces which has acted to destroy the identity and the culture of indigenous peoples has been that of schooling'.[32]

The goal of education for linguistic minority children: monolingualism or multilingualism?

We have already stated that bi- or multilingualism is a necessary educational goal for linguistic minorities, for reasons of identity, equal participation and democracy; that it is a feasible goal for the enrichment of linguistic majorities; and that it should be the duty of schools to enable all minority children to become bi- or multilingual.

Cultural attitudes towards monolingualism and multilingualism vary on a continuum where at one end monolingualism is seen as a desirable norm. At the other end multilingualism is seen as the normal state of affairs. Granted the number of languages in the world, most countries and people should of course be closer to the multilingualism end of the continuum in their attitudes, and in fact most countries might be placed there. But there are some very powerful exceptions, namely most European countries and, especially, most Europeanized countries. It appears that extreme monolingualism ideology is very strong in Europeanized countries. (Europeanized countries are those colonized from Europe, where the indigenous population is now a numerical minority, eg. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, USA and some Latin American countries.)

Likewise this strong monolingual ideology also prevails in most former imperial European states which are the sources of the languages of the former colonizers (Britain, France, etc.). These states have been extremely successful in exporting this monolingual ideology to the elites in many, if not most, underdeveloped countries, as a part of the package of Western images of development, modernization etc. This is reflected in both the remarkable lack of sufficient attention given to language questions in general and the medium of education in particular in discussions of development (see some examples below) and in the fact that former colonial languages are now used more than during the colonial period, for instance in Africa. These languages 'keep Africans in slavery which remains yet to be got rid of', says Kahombo Mateene, the former Director of the Inter- African Bureau of Languages,[33] which was abolished in 1987, of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), one of the most vocal and powerful critics of the overuse of former colonial languages. Expatriate planners, advisors and aid personnel together with Western-educated elites from underdeveloped countries have been and are instrumental in creating and maintaining this dependency.[34]

These negative attitudes towards multilingualism pertain both in relation to official multilingualism in a country (which is seen as divisive for the nation) and to individual multilingualism. Many countries try to create or maintain an artificial monolingualism. The English Language Amendment, which tries to make English the sole official language of the USA, to the (overt or covert) exclusion of all other languages from the official sphere, is an example of the former,[35] while the refusal of France to give rights to its linguistic minorities is an example of the latter.[36]

Being bilingual has in several countries, especially the USA, been used almost as a synonym for being poor, stupid and uneducated. And it is true that coming from a linguistic minority in a monolingually oriented country often has meant poverty and non- education. Bilinguals are also often

labelled negatively, in terms which focus on their (actual or suspected) lack of knowledge in the majority language, or their supposed 'foreignness', instead of using neutral or positive labels. A minority child is labelled a NEP- or LEP-child in the US – No/Limited English Proficiency. The official term in the Danish educational system for minority children is 'fremmedsproget' (literally 'foreign speaking')."

The prestige of different languages is also reflected in how bilinguals are seen. School bilingualism (learning French in boarding school in England or doing the European baccalaureat at a multilingual school) and bi- or multilingualism in languages useful for business and culture is not seen as negative, especially when the person has the 'right class background'. The attitudes towards bilingualism thus show some variation.

In the author's opinion, for an individual, monolingualism almost inevitably means monoculturalism and monoculism, being able to see things with one pair of lenses only and having a poorly developed capacity to perceive events from another person's or group's point of view. It mostly results in not knowing more than one culture from the inside, and therefore lacking relativity: a low level of metacultural awareness. Therefore we multilinguals sometimes talk about 'monolingual naivety' or 'monolingual stupidity'. Therefore monolingualism, both individual and societal, is not so much a linguistic phenomenon (even if it is concerned with language) but rather a question of a psychological state, backed up by political power. From the author's viewpoint, monolingualism is a psychological island and an ideological cramp – and a reflection of linguicism.

Debi Pattanayak, the former Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages based in Mysore, Karnataka, south India, says in a powerful article[8] that the Western way of looking at multilingualism is something like this: Ideally, a country should be monolingual. If it is officially bilingual, that is a pity but one can live with it. If it has three or more languages, it is underdeveloped and barbaric. In order to become civilized, it should strive towards becoming monolingual.

In discussions about the education of linguistic minorities there is a controversy both about the goal (monolingualism or multilingualism) and about the means (where the main debate is between proponents and opponents of mother tongue medium education and second or foreign language medium education, respectively). The positions in Europe and Europeanized countries can be summarized in the following, extremely simplified way: Minorities themselves (including those in many non-European and non-Europeanized countries) think that genuine multilingualism is a perfectly normal and desirable state. It is possible and desirable to have multilingualism as the linguistic goal in the education of all children. Mother tongue medium education is often a good way to achieve bilingualism/multilingualism for minorities. Learning one's mother tongue is a human right which does not need any further legitimation. Minorities also want to learn (one or more of) the official majority language(s) fully.

Majorities think that monoling-ualism in the majority language is the normal and desirable state. Societal multilingualism is divisive and should not be a goal. If individual multilingualism has to be accepted, the emphasis should be on the learning of the majority language by minorities. If mother tongue medium education for minorities has to be accepted it should be transitional, and the only legitimation for it is the instrumental one: it leads to increased proficiency in the majority language."

If Western attitudes really are inclined towards monolingualism (and the author finds no convincing arguments to refute Pattanayak's analysis), the chances that European and Europeanized countries will come up with good solutions to questions about the education of minority children, solutions which would promote multilingualism, are slight. The educational systems in most other countries are modelled on Europe and Europeanized societies, and very small modifications, if any, have been made to accommodate multilingual situations – as we will see later in the report, language issues have often barely been mentioned in educational planning for underdeveloped countries.

If monolingualism (with some knowledge of other languages, provided these are 'modern' and 'European' and have been learned at school as part of becoming 'educated'- and even here 'European' implicitly refers only to some of the 'big' Indo-European languages) is the explicitly or at least implicitly desirable and accepted societal norm, there is an inherent conflict between supporting that norm, and organizing minority (or majority) education so that it would lead to high levels of bi- or multilingualism. Underdeveloped countries also appear to be advocating this norm by their education practices and policies, even if all of their governments may not realize it. In their case the conflict is between their wishes (multilingualism) and the means they have chosen to fulfill these wishes (methods which lead to monolingualism).

But this conflict is seldom discussed openly. In fact, most European countries have at least some passages in their declarations of goals for the education of minorities which refer to bi- or multilingualism. In most cases it is discussed as a societal phenomenon ('Britain is multilingual'), and here it only means that several languages are spoken in a country. This is often only stating a fact, not declaring a wish ('Yes, there are several languages spoken in this country, and since they will take some time to disappear, we had better accept it and try to see if there is anything positive in it.'). High levels of bilingualism/multilingualism are seldom seen as a goal for the educational system (even if there may be vague phrases about functional or active bilingualism in general declarations). If they are, then the language learning emphasis is put on the learning of the majority language by the minority children to a high level. The part of their bilingualism which has to do with the minority language, again states the fact, but does not declare a wish ('Yes, they do speak that minority language, but obviously they need to learn L2, English/German/Dutch etc.; that is the most important thing in their education. If learning English makes them bilingual, then the goal of education must be to make them bilingual, because they have to learn English.').

It thus seems that both minorities and majorities agree that minority children should be given the opportunity to learn the majority language in school. But they disagree about the learning of the minority mother tongue, both about the existence of the mother tongue on the time-table and about the level to which it should be learned. Many minorities think that their mother tongues should have the same rights in education and elsewhere, as majority mother tongues. Majorities act as if minority mother tongues were of less value (cultural linguicism), and emphasize educational efforts geared towards the learning of the majority language and neglect or give much lower priority to measures geared towards the learning of minority mother tongues

(institutional linguicism). They also disagree about how best to teach the majority language. Majorities often fall prey to the maximal exposure fallacy,[40] thinking that the more the minority children are exposed to the majority language, the better they learn it. This is patently false, as the research of Jim Cummins and others have shown. Minorities themselves often know that the language which otherwise has less chance of developing to a high formal level, needs most of the institutional support, in order for the child to become bilingual. Thus strengthening the common underlying proficiency for both languages in mother tongue medium programmes paradoxically leads to high levels of proficiency in the majority language too, provided the L2 is taught well.

All this is seen in the ways in which the education of minority children is organized – and in the results. Later sections of this report summarize some of the main aspects of the organization, analyze it in terms of factors influencing the overall results, and present different historical stages which the education of minorities has gone through in OECD countries. In the rest of this section we shall present a few examples from some minority groups who are extremely dissimilar in terms of their numbers, history, present position, culture, etc., and show how similar their educational experience is in different parts of the world. Linguicism works in comparable ways all over the world.

Linguicist practices: from sticks to carrots to ideas.

Just as racism has changed shape, so has linguicism. In earlier periods minority children were prevented from learning and appreciating their languages and cultures by means of physical control. They were separated from their parents and communities, sent to boarding schools, and punished when they spoke their own language. The aim, often openly admitted, was assimilation.[41] When they returned, the goal had been achieved, in several ways. Miseducation, shame and loss of mother tongue were the results, together with low proficiency in the dominant language:

'After a few years the children no longer want to know their parents. The children are forbidden to speak Kurdish at school. They are taught that the Kurds are dirty and primitive. And when they go home to their villages they tell their parents that now they are Turks and don't want primitive Kurdish parents. They want their parents to start speaking Turkish and being civilized'.[42]

'Kee was sent to boarding school as a child where – as was the practice – he was punished for speaking Navajo. Since he was only allowed to return home during Christmas and summer, he lost contact with his family. Kee withdrew both from the White and Navajo worlds as he grew older, because he could not comfortably communicate in either language. He became one of the many thousand Navajos who were non-lingual – a man without a language. By the time he was 16, Kee was an alcoholic, uneducated and despondent – without identity. Kee's story is more the rule rather than the exception.'[43]

Although overt physical violence that historically has characterized the education of minorities in virtually all overdeveloped countries and, in an exported version, in many underdeveloped countries, has become largely covert (with a few exceptions eg. torture of black children in South Africa, and of Kurdish children), the structure of interactions that leads minority students to internalize shame remains intact. The message, namely that one has to eradicate one's language, culture and identity which are regarded as worthless, in order to survive, also remains. The children are separated from their parents, community, language and culture not only because of their lack of in-depth knowledge of them (their languages and cultures have no rights in schools, on time-tables and curricula, often not even for the children themselves and certainly not for majority children) but also because of the shame, inculcated in the children. They are punished for maintaining their languages by making them believe that knowing a minority language is the cause for their failure (ideas), and they are rewarded for using the majority language (carrots).

The results may be even more devastating since institutionalized racism is hidden and violence covert.[44] The means for control have moved from 'sticks' to 'carrots' and ideas (see Table 3), but the resulting hierarchies have changed little. The Africanist, Edward Blyden, wrote in 1872 that by subjecting Africans to 'unmodified European training', a reference to British education through the medium of English, Europeans were producing a slavery 'far more subversive of the real welfare of the race than the ancient physical fetters'.[45]

The same thought is conveyed by Debi Pattanayak a century later, when he states that 'English is one of the major symbols of British imperialism and Indian intellectual slavery',[46] and by Kahombo Mateene for Africa.

Educational results for minority groups worldwide are, in most cases, worse than for majority populations. Regardless of which indicators for success we use, minority children and young people as a group are over-represented on the negative side: language tests, school marks, classes for educationally retarded, degree of further education, drop-outs at every level ('push-out' is a more adequate term),

Table 3 Exerting power: means, processes and sanctions

Type	IDEOLOGICAL	REMUNERATIVE	PUNITIVE
Means	ideas	carrots	sticks
Processes	persuasion	bargaining	force
Sanctions used	internal (conscience)	positive external (pride)	negative external (violence)
		negative internal (shame)	

From Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Cummins, J. (Eds)
in *Resource power and autonomy through discourse in conflict. A Finnish migrant school strike in Sweden*, 1988, p253 (based on Galtung's ideas).

unemployment after schooling. Other indicators may be more culture specific but they are equally alarming. Many groups react through over-representation in statistics for suicides, criminality, mental hospitals, alcoholism, divorces etc.[47]

The claim about the failure of minority students as a group needs qualification however. In most countries there are some groups of (immigrant) minority children who do as well as or better than majority children in school. In Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA some Asian groups (but not all) do quite well in school. Some of the earlier migrant groups to Australia (Latvians, Lithuanians, Czechs) did well, whereas other early groups (Italians, Greeks) did not demonstrate the same degree of success. The class background of the parents can in some instances explain the success, as in the Australian example, where it was mainly the intellectuals who fled to Australia. On the other hand it cannot explain why Vietnamese children in Australia are doing well, despite generally having parents with little formal education, or why Polish children in Sweden are not doing better, despite a much higher percentage of university educated parents than among Swedish children. Parental and community support seems to be evident with groups who are doing well. On the other hand there is no evidence of lack of parental support with many of the groups who are not doing well. Of course, all the factors which influence majority children's school achievement too, are at play but they cannot explain the variation within minority groups. Factors such as the type of minority – labour immigrant or refugee or indigenous – length of stay, linguistic and cultural similarity or dissimilarity with the majority group, can also play some role, but there seem to be no factors which could explain the variation convincingly.

What can be stated at present is that not all minority groups and students are equally vulnerable to the effects of linguistic and mental colonization, as a result of historical and current realities, and that the causes of the difficulties which most minority students experience at school are primarily socio-political, but also psycholinguistic. It should also be remembered that even when minority students manage to succeed (which they then mostly do in spite of the education system, not because of it), those who retain their mother tongue (and become literate in it) perform better.

In order to legitimate assimilation, the dominant population, its language and culture have to be seen as superior and the dominated ones as inferior. This is a civilizing mission to glorify the dominant and degrade the dominated. In addition, the relationship between the groups has to be rationalized, always to the advantage of the dominant group which is seen as doing the dominated a favour.[48] This is expressed in educational planning documents for minorities and powerless majorities all over the world. The rationalizations make the massive failure seem the minorities' own fault; they are blamed rather than the linguicist/ethnicist structures and ideologies. Linguicism blames the victim in more subtle ways than biologically based racism, by colonizing consciousness instead of colonizing the body.

From the descriptions contained in this section, the conclusion might be drawn that the education of minorities produces only miserable results. Even if this is generally true, it has to be borne in mind that many minorities struggle for better education, and there are many examples of positive programmes where the linguicist ideologies, structures and practices have been successfully contested.[49]

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES

Mother tongue or a foreign language as the language of instruction

This section examines concrete educational programmes, in order to see to what extent there is a mismatch between the goals and the means employed towards their achievement in the education of minority students. If the educational systems are organized so as to give minority students a fair chance of becoming bilingual and succeeding in school, then the claims of linguicism are unfounded. If, on the other hand, the education is organized so as to prevent minority children from getting access to the instruments – in terms of achieving high levels of bilingualism and fair chance for a high degree of success in school – for claiming their fair share of power and resources, and if the mother tongue (minority or majority language) plays a decisive part in the division of children into those who do and those who do not get such access, then the educational system functions in a linguicist way. In order to determine the principal factors which account for the outcomes, we must look not only at minority education but also at education given to majority children.

Typology of educational programmes

One of the most frequently discussed factors in explaining the relative success or lack of success in education in different contexts has been the Medium of Education (ME). UNESCO stated as early as 1953, in its expert group report 'Vernacular languages in education' that the mother tongue was axiomatically the best Medium of Education. When high-level bilingualism is the goal, the answer is more complex, however.

Some educational programmes for minority and/or majority children achieve a High Degree of Success (HDS) in making the children bilingual and giving them a fair chance of good school achievement. Others show a Low Degree of Success (LDS): many children do not learn any of the languages at the same level as monolinguals, or they become strongly dominant in one of the languages, ie. they fail to become bilingual. They also show, as a group, low levels of achievement in schools, often massive failure.

Paradoxically, instruction through the medium of a mother tongue (L1) can lead to either HDS or LDS. Likewise, instruction through the medium of a foreign or second language (L2) can also lead to either HDS or LDS. The UNESCO expert group was thus not correct in labelling 'mother tongue medium is always best' an axiom. In order to understand this, it is necessary to look both at societal factors, which determine what type of programme is chosen for different groups, and at cognitive, pedagogical, linguistic and sociological factors which determine the outcome of the instruction. It becomes abundantly clear from the analysis, that 'which language should a child be instructed in, L1 or L2, in order to become bilingual?' poses the question in a simplistic and misleading way. The question should rather be: 'under which conditions does instruction in L1 or L2, respectively, lead to high levels of bilingualism?'

This report analyzes different types of educational programmes in concrete terms, in order to highlight the decisive conditions, under four main headings: Segregation, Mother Tongue Maintenance (or language shelter), Submersion and Immersion programmes (see the section on Concept Definitions for these). In three instances it is necessary to treat separately the programmes designed for minorities and majorities. For each programme, the author

Table 4 Comparison of Educational Programmes

Name of programme	SEGREGATION		MAINTENANCE		SUBMERSION		IMMERSION
Degree of success	LOW (LDS)		HIGH (HDS)		LOW (LDS)		HIGH (HDS)
Dominant medium of education (ME)	L1				L2		
Linguistic goal	dominance in L1		bilingualism		elites L2-dominance masses: L1-dom.	dominance in L2	bilingualism
Societal goal	apartheid	repatriation	equity and integration		perpetuate stratification	assimilation, marginalization	linguistic and cultural enrichment, benefits
Majority/minority	maj	min	maj	min	maj	min	maj
EXAMPLE	Africa	Europe	Asia	Europe	Africa	World	Canada
	Bantu Namibia	Turks in Bavaria	Uzbekistan	Finns in Sweden	Zambia	Western European minorities	Canada
Organisational factors							
1 *alternative programmes available*	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2 *pupils equally placed vis-a-vis knowledge of ME*	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
3 *bilingual (B), trained (T) teachers*	B	B or T	BT ?	BT	B	T	BT
4 *bilingual materials (eg dictionaries) available*	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
5 *cultural content of materials appropriate for pupils*	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
Learner-related affective factors							
6 *low level of anxiety (supportive, non-authoritarian)*	–	–	+ ?	+	–	–	+
7 *high internal motivation (not forced to use L2, understands & sympathetic with objectives, responsible for own learning*	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
8 *high self-confidence (high teacher expectations, fair chance to succeed)*	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
L1-related linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social factors							
9 *adequate linguistic development in L1 (L1 taught well(W), badly (B) or not at all(–) in school)*	B	B	W	W	–	–	W
10 *...gh relevant, cognitively ...manding subject-matter provided*	– ?	+ ?	+	+	– ?	– ?	+
11 *opportunity to develop L1 outside school in linguistically demanding formal contexts*	+ ?	–	+	–	+	–	+
12 *L2-teaching supports (+) or harms (-) L1 development*	+	+	+	+	– ?	–	+
L2-related linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social factors							
13 *adequate linguistic development in L2 (L2 taught well(W), badly(B) or not at all(–) in school)*	B	B	W ?	W	B	B	W
14 *L2 input adapted to pupils' L2 level*	+	+	+	+	– ?	–	+
15 *opportunity to practise L2 in peer group contexts outside school*	–	–	+ ?	+ ?	–	–	–
16 *exposure to native speaker L2 use in linguistically demanding formal contexts*	–	+	+	+	–	+	+

LDS – LOW DEGREE OF SUCCESS **HDS** – HIGH DEGREE OF SUCCESS From: Skutnabb-Kangas, T., 1988a, p24-25

assesses the Degree of Success (HDS or LDS), the Medium of Education (L1 or L2) and the linguistic and societal goals of the programme (Table 4). The classification of the goals builds more on factual results achieved than on declarations of intention, and may therefore not always tally with the officially declared goals.[50]

The example of a segregation model for a majority population (in this case a powerless majority) is the Bantu education used in pre-independent Namibia by South Africa in primary level education to African Namibians in nine different L1s. Segregation programmes produce poor results, meaning scholastic failure for the majority of those who start school (and many Namibian children do not), and low levels in both languages of cognitive/academic proficiency. This fitted with the linguistic goal,[51] dominance in L1, (with sufficient L2 for low-level jobs and administrative control but ideally not for high- level cooperation between Namibia's different linguistic groups) and the societal goal, perpetuation of apartheid.[52]

The example of segregation for a minority is the education of migrant Turks in Bavaria, West Germany, through the medium of Turkish, again with low levels of success. The linguistic goal is dominance in Turkish. The societal goal is to prepare the migrant pupils for forced (or voluntary) repatriation when their parents' labour is no longer needed or when they themselves become 'too expensive' or 'too troublesome' for West Germany (for instance when resisting assimilation and racism by political or other means).

In contrast to segregation, mother tongue maintenance programmes which also use the children's mother tongues as media of education, show high levels of success – because the linguistic goals (bilingualism) and societal goals (equity and integration) are different. An example of maintenance for a majority is the mother tongue-medium education given in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan to the seven main language groups, including the numerically dominant group, the Uzbeks. Since the main groups are all in the same position educationally, with the same rights, they are here treated as together forming a majority. In Uzbekistan, where only a tiny elite was literate 60 years ago when the country was still under feudal conditions, all children now complete at least ten years of education. The main groups have the right to education through the medium of their own languages, with Russian or another Uzbek language as a second language.[53]

Examples of maintenance for minorities are the Finnish-medium classes for the Finnish migrant population in Sweden. Such classes are still the exception. They have risen as a result of the struggle against assimilation which Finnish parents and teachers have waged, and in most cases against the wishes of the Swedish school authorities who have tried to prevent or restrict them. The first groups who have had their basic 9-year education in mother tongue medium classes (with Swedish as a second language and some subjects taught through the medium of Swedish, especially in higher grades), know Finnish almost as well as Finnish students in Finland, and Swedish as well as Swedish children in parallel classes in the same schools. In addition their school achievement is at the same level as that of Swedish children.[54] The positive results of these programmes break the earlier pattern of failure among Finnish children.

An example of submersion for a majority is education through the medium of a former colonial language in many African countries, for instance Zambia. For the vast majority of the population the results are poor,[55] both academically and linguistically.[56] The linguistic goal achieved is dominance in English for the elite, and, for the masses, dominance in their mother tongues (which the school does nothing to develop) and limited proficiency in English.

Submersion programmes for minorities are still by far the most common way of educating both indigenous and immigrant minorities in most countries in the world. Even in Sweden, where there have been attempts with other methods, some 80% of immigrant children are educated this way, through the medium of Swedish, regardless of the fact that all immigrant organizations in every Scandinavian country demand mother tongue mediums of education. Most migrants, for instance in the UK and West Germany (except Turks in Bavaria who are in segregation programmes and some Greek and other migrants in maintenance programmes), undergo submersion, resulting in dominance in the majority language at the expense of the mother tongue, and often, but not always, poor school achievement. Societally this means assimilation for some (depending on whether the country in question allows assimilation or not) and marginalization for the many. It should also be added that all the different kinds of transitional programmes also belong to the submersion type. They are merely a more sophisticated version than direct submersion.[57]

By contrast, Canadian immersion programmes, in which English-speaking majority children are educated through the medium of an L2 (mostly French, but several other languages are also in operation) lead to high levels of bilingualism and success at school.[58] The societal goals include linguistic and cultural enrichment for the powerful majority, and increased employment prospects and other benefits for an elite. As is clear from the definition of immersion programmes, the concept cannot, by definition, be applied to minorities.

Logically, the typology should contain one more alternative, namely education for minority groups through the medium of an L2 with a high degree of success. The reason for not having such an alternative here is simple: there are no generalizable studies on the existence of such programmes. There have during recent years been a few South and East Asian groups (mainly Chinese and Japanese) in Canada and USA who appear to show success. There are no detailed research studies about them to date, only descriptions. It seems to be a fair guess that they succeed despite the way school is organized, not because of it.

To summarize so far, in all HDS-contexts the linguistic goal has been bilingualism, and the societal goal has been a positive one for the group concerned. In all LDS-contexts, the linguistic goal has been dominance in one of the languages, either L1 or L2, not bilingualism. The other language (non-medium of education) has been neglected or taught badly. The societal goal has been to keep the group (or at least the majority of them) in a powerless subordinate position.

Since the linguistic and societal goals attributed to the programmes do not always tally with the officially expressed goals, it is important to see how the programmes are organized. Are the HDS programmes really better organized than the LDS programmes, when judged on the basis of measures independent of our judgement of their goals? Otherwise it might be suspected that the author first looked at the results and then attributed positive goals to the HDS programmes and negative goals to the LDS programmes.

How do different programmes support L2-learning and bilingualism?

When looking at how the programmes are organized we need to evaluate to what extent they create optimal conditions for efficient L2-learning and bilingualism. The preconditions for learning L2 effectively and for becoming bilingual have been grouped into four categories called organizational factors, learner-related affective factors, and linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social L1-related and L2-related factors, respectively. These factors are chosen so as to reflect present views in different disciplines in relation to important or necessary preconditions for L2-learning and bilingualism. At the same time they are factors which the educational system can influence. We know, for example, that when all other factors are equal, a 12-year old 'highly intelligent' (ie. with a high non-verbal IQ) migrant girl with upper middle class parents and a long stay (eg. over 10 years) in the country of residence shows better results in becoming bilingual and succeeding in school than a 9-year old 'less intelligent' boy with working class parents and a stay of a couple of years. But that knowledge does not help us much: we cannot easily change the age, sex or IQ of the child or the social class or length of residence of the parents. For planning purposes we have to concentrate on factors which can be influenced. These are depicted in graphic form in Table 4.

Organizational factors. Alternative programmes [1] are only available in the HDS- programmes, ie. in maintenance and immersion contexts. These programmes are optional. An Uzbek or Tadjik in USSR or a Finn in Sweden who wants education through the medium of Russian or Swedish (instead of Uzbek, Tadjik or Finnish, respectively), is able to choose that option. An English-speaking Canadian child can choose between English-medium education or a French-medium immersion programme. By contrast, children in segregation or submersion programmes have no choice. Either the alternatives do not even exist, as in most submersion programmes, or, if they do, children in segregation or submersion programmes are precluded from them administratively or economically.

Factor [2] covers whether there are in the same school class both native speakers of the medium of education (ME) and pupils for whom the medium of education is an L2. This is a normal situation in submersion programmes, disadvantaging the L2-learners. In Zambia, the pupils' class background and geographical location (urban or rural) has a decisive influence on their prior knowledge of English. In all the other programmes pupils are, in relation to prior familiarity with the medium of education, on an equal footing in that initially either they all know the language of instruction (segregation and maintenance) or none of them do (immersion).

The third [3] factor shows that the HDS programmes have teachers who are both bilingual and well trained. In immersion programmes, the bilingual teacher understands everything that the English-speaking children say in English, even if she herself only speaks French to the children. Thus the children can communicate all their needs to the teacher initially in their L1, and only later start doing so in L2 when they feel confident enough. There is a great variation in teacher competence in Uzbekistan. The LDS programmes have either reasonably well trained but monolingual teachers who do not understand their pupils' mother tongues (often submersion for minorities) or else the training of the teachers is inadequate, even if they are to some extent bilingual (for instance segregation, and submersion for majorities in Zambia).

In the opinion of the author, a bilingual (generally implying minority group) teacher without any training is mostly a better choice than a monolingual well-trained teacher. This is especially so in second language contexts, where the pupil hears L2 outside school anyway. Especially in relation to small children, it is extremely cruel, psychologically, to use monolingual teachers who do not understand what the child wants to say in her mother tongue. The failure to give minority teachers good training, adjusted to the conditions in the receiving country, is one of the reflections of institutional racism in the Western countries. Simultaneously it protects the employment prospects of majority teachers, and makes minority children's failure in schools look like the children's fault, instead of the deficiency of the school system.

Factor four [4] shows that most of the LDS programmes lack bilingual materials. The materials actually used, factor five [5], in them are imported or racist or both, thus imposing alien cultural values.

Learner-related affective factors. These suggest that a supportive learning environment and non-authoritarian teaching reduce anxiety [6]. Internal motivation [7] is increased when the pupil is not forced to use L2, and can start producing L2 utterances only when she feels ready for it. The need for a 'silent period' before having to produce anything in the new language has been stressed by many researchers. Again this emphasizes the importance of bilingual teachers, because the child is being forced to use L2 if the teacher does not understand the child's L1. High motivation is also related to an understanding of and sympathy with the educational objectives and to sharing in responsibility for one's own learning (which is difficult without bilingual materials, eg. dictionaries). Many children in Uzbekistan may not have a high motivation for learning Russian though. High self-confidence [8] is related to whether learners have a real chance of succeeding in school, and to favourable teacher expectations. One of the conditions for this is that the teacher accepts and values the child's mother tongue and cultural group, and is sympathetic with the parents' way of thinking, even though the teacher might have a different class background from the parents. The importance of affective factors has been highlighted during the last two decades[39] and new approaches to second language learning have developed, eg. Lozanov's suggestopedia. There is a positive correlation between a plus-rating on these three factors (low anxiety, high motivation and high self-confidence) and the successful programmes.

Linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social language-related factors. Linguistic development in L1 [9] is inadequate when the mother tongue is taught badly, as in most segregation programmes (which should not however be blamed on the teachers) or not at all, as in most submersion programmes. It should also be mentioned that a couple of hours a week of mother tongue instruction for a minority child is more a case of therapeutic help than of genuine language teaching.[40] It may give the child some emotional security and a chance to talk about problems with an adult who speaks the same language. It appears as if the school is making an effort when mother tongue teaching is provided, but the time is much too short for any serious language work to be done. Often problems with time-tables, space, insecure mother tongue teacher employment terms, etc. further reduce the actual time for teaching. There are teachers who have lessons in a dozen schools or more. This type of mother tongue teaching does not prevent language shift from a minority mother tongue to the majority language in an assimilationist context.

Enough relevant cognitively demanding subject matter [10] to promote the common underlying proficiency for all languages is provided in the HDS programmes.[61] This is done through the medium of L1 in maintenance and through L2 in immersion programmes (where it is ensured that the children understand, and where it has been demonstrated that they can transfer the knowledge).[62] The input may satisfy this criterion in some segregation programmes, because the pupils at least understand the instruction. In submersion when both language and subject matter are unfamiliar, it is less likely.[63] If the child learns how to use language as an effective instrument for thinking and problem- solving in one language (by getting extensive relevant knowledge and using it), this capacity can also be transferred to other languages.

In addition to L1-development in school, pupils also need the opportunity to develop their mother tongue outside school in linguistically demanding formal contexts [11]. Otherwise they are restricted to being able to discuss everyday things in informal settings only. This opportunity exists at least to a certain extent for all indigenous groups, but not for immigrants. Some groups may therefore be able to compensate for inadequate school provision outside the school setting. A more general factor which influences whether the language learning situation is additive (you add a new language to your existing linguistic repertoire,[64] without losing your mother tongue) or subtractive (another language replaces the mother tongue, subtracts from the child's linguistic repertoire) is the degree to which L2-teaching supports or harms L1-development [12]. Only submersion programmes threaten the mother tongues in this way.

Linguistic development in L2 [13] is inadequate when the L2 is badly taught, as it is in all the LDS-programmes. A teacher, monolingual in L2, cannot make a really good L2-teacher. A good L2-teacher knows both languages and can teach contrastively.

Also relevant is the degree to which L2-input is adapted to pupils' L2 level [14]. It is difficult to adapt the input in this way in immigrant submersion contexts, because the difference in the pupils' proficiency in the same class is too great. The task is relatively more feasible when no pupils are native speakers of the medium of education, as in Zambia.

Absence of the opportunity to practise the L2 in peer group contexts outside school [15] may be due to practicalities (immersion children do not meet many L2 children), to racism (Turkish children are often avoided by German children), or to a shortage of L2 native speakers, as in Zambia, or as in Bantu education, where institutionalized racism and apartheid aggravate the situation. Changes in political contexts may rapidly alter this factor, both externally (opportunities) and internally (motivation), as the current changing situation in Eastern Europe and Namibia demonstrates.

Exposure to native speaker L2 use in linguistically demanding formal contexts [16] depends on the existence of L2 institutions staffed by native L2 speakers. Turks in West Germany cannot escape exposure to native German, whereas Zambians are exposed to a range of non-native English, some of them appropriate regional models, some of them interlanguages (ie. languages spoken by learners of English).[65] This exposure may have been the most decisive single factor in immigrant contexts explaining why some children have succeeded, against all odds.

As we can see from Table 4, there is a clear difference between the programmes in that the HDS programmes with bilingualism as the linguistic goal and with positive societal goals, have organized the teaching so that many of the preconditions for efficient L2 learning and bilingualism are met. The LDS programmes do so to a much lesser extent.

This also functions as a validation of the way goals were attributed to the different programmes. Likewise, the comparison validates the author's claims about linguicism. The educational systems for both powerless majorities (as in Zambia) and most powerless minorities in the world are not organized so as to give the students a fair chance of becoming bilingual and succeeding in school. The education is organized so as to prevent these children from getting access to the instruments which will enable them to claim their fair share of power and resources. The mother tongue (minority or majority language) plays a decisive part in the division of children into those who do, and those who do not, get such access. Thus the educational systems functions in a linguicist way.

The situation for those who desire to organize minority children's education in the best possible way is difficult in those countries where the exploitation of a minority (or a powerless majority, as in pre-independence Namibia) is open and brutal. Measures which under different, less oppressive conditions would be positive (like mother tongue medium education), can, in the hands of an oppressive regime, become instruments for segregation and apartheid.

Conclusions can also be drawn by examples from Europe. As long as, for example, West Germany uses Turkey as its 'Bantustan', from which it fetches workers (whose childhood and education costs have been paid by their parents and Turkish society) when it needs them, and sends them back when it no longer needs them or when they become old, sick or unemployed, it seems difficult to achieve much by changing practices in West German schools. Yet while a range of people and organizations work on the political changes needed in order to extend minorities' human rights in West Germany, preparation for change is also needed in schools. In openly linguicist countries like West Germany, these are necessarily defensive arguments which emphasize the instrumental value of minority mother tongues for learning the majority language.

Migrants within Scandinavia from other Scandinavian countries are legally protected by Nordic agreements and cannot be forcibly repatriated. This provides a different basis for educational work. The assertive strategy used in Scandinavia emphasizes human rights arguments for recognition of minority mother tongues. The defensive strategy in West Germany may boomerang, because the argument itself is linguicist. But choice of argument to be used is determined by the stage at which the society in question finds itself in the historical development of minority education.

The following section examines these stages in who has been blamed for the failure of minorities, the children themselves (and their parents, their group and their culture) or linguicist societies – and the conclusions are not especially flattering for Western societies.

STAGES IN MINORITY EDUCATION
deficient children or deficient schools & societies?

This section looks at the various stages in the explanations which are given for minority children's poor school achievement. Who is to blame, if one judges by the analyses that different measures are derived from? Whose fault is it thought to be that minority children experience difficulties in school? Is it the child who is 'deficient', or is the society that controls the school deficient, ie. linguicist and racist?

Most countries in the world have followed education policies which begin by segregating minorities, ie. not accepting them in schools or not trying to get them to schools or keep them in schools. In some cases the reasons given have been geographical or demographic, meaning minority students lived in sparsely populated 'peripheral' districts (peripheral from the point of view of decision makers, not minorities themselves). But this has not been the main reason, which can be seen in the fact that boarding schools were built or students transported to boarding schools over very long distances as soon as their assimilation became important, mostly for reasons of economics (exploitation of natural resources in their area) or politics (state security reasons).

When minority students began attending schools, a typical first reaction was often indifference and neglect: they were taught through the majority language as if this had been their mother tongue, with no provision for the fact that it was a foreign language for them. In other instances, where indigenous minority children were taught by missionaries in their own schools, a racist-romantic reaction was found: the noble savage should stay 'close to nature' and should not be changed.[4] The author's charting of stages begins at the point when active measures start to be taken by educational authorities as a reaction to minority students' massive failure in schools.

Table 5, summarizing the development of minority education in different overdeveloped countries, is partly based on information in a report by Stacy Churchill for OECD, CERI[5]. Readers are invited to look at the measures in their own countries and communities and try to place them in the scheme. What has been done, based on what problem definition, and with what goal?

When minority children experience problems in school, a reason for the problems is diagnosed, explicitly or implicitly. Then measures are suggested and taken to alleviate the problems. Behind the measures one can also discern assumptions about the future of the minorities: are these going to (be allowed to) maintain their languages and cultures, or are they going to disappear quickly, or over a few generations, to be assimilated into the majority? If they are not going to be assimilated immediately, is this seen as good and positive, or bad and divisive for society? Some of the explanations and even suggestions for measures have also, with modifications, been transferred – by Western 'experts' – to analyze educational failure in underdeveloped countries, without the same views about the future. Yet they are even more misplaced in these contexts.

The first four phases in the development of minority education which most overdeveloped countries seem to be undergoing are based on deficit theories. These theories have an underlying assumption that there is something wrong with:

[1] the minority child – L2-related handicap: the child does not know enough of the majority language;
[2] the minority parents – socially conditioned handicap: the parents are working class or peasants;
[3] the whole minority group – culturally conditioned handicap: the child's cultural background is 'different'; or
[4] all of these – L1-related handicap: the child does not know her own language and culture properly, which leaves her without a firm basis for L2-learning, and gives her poor self-confidence. To a small extent it is accepted that there may also be something lacking in majority individuals (but not systems), peers and teachers who may discriminate, because they have not had enough information about minorities.

In these four phases it is envisaged that the minority should quickly become majority-language-speaking [1,2]. However as long as the children continue to speak their original mother tongue, the school should help them to appreciate it [3,4]. The main measures depend on which specific handicap the child is thought to suffer from. It appears that the measures from earlier phases are carried over when the school system moves to the next phase.

Different European countries seem to show a somewhat different course of development. Scandinavia, especially Sweden, has focused much on the language handicaps [1 and especially 4]. This has been primarily because Finns are the largest immigrant group in Sweden. Their social structure and cultural traits are relatively close to those of the Swedes, partly as a result of the 650 years of colonization by Sweden when Sweden imposed its administrative structures, culture and norms on Finland. The main difference is in relation to language (Swedish is Indo-European, Finnish Fenno-Ugric), and therefore language issues have been given an early focus. The United Kingdom has focused on cultural differences [3], in addition to the L2-related handicap [1], and the mother tongue deprivation discussions have barely started. West Germany has focused more on the social handicap explanations [2], in addition to cultural and linguistic L2-related handicaps, especially in relation to the largest migrant minority group, people from Turkey.

On a pan-European level, more attention is given currently to measures based on the later phases in the cultural deficiency explanation [3]. The interculturalism seen in government declarations and pervading European teacher in-service training courses and new curricula is important to analyze because it still reflects deficiency models, even if the context in which it is presented – ethnicism and linguicism – is much more appealing than the old biologically based racism theories.

Nevertheless it is also important to emphasize that many of the measures, taken on the basis of the different explanations for problems, may in many ways be needed. It is good for minority children to have additional tuition in L2 and to learn more about their own culture, and it is useful that majority children and teachers learn something about minority cultures. And it is vitally necessary for minority children to develop their mother tongues in mother tongue medium education programmes. But it is the basis for these measures which is wrong. All of them, even the mother tongue deprivation model, see the child as deficient and lacking, and try to compensate for the 'deficiencies' in order for the child, her parents, group and culture to change, and in order to fit the school. It is still considered to be a deficiency in European schools to have a another mother tongue and cultural background from the majority and not to be middle class (and a boy).

All deficiency theories see racism as an information problem only (to the extent that they admit that it exists in the first

Table 5 **Stages in the development of minority education**

REASON FOR PROBLEMS	*MEASURE*	*GOAL*
Deficit theories		
1 *Linguistic L2-related handicap, learning deficit* (the child does not master L2 well enough)	*More teaching of MaL* (auxiliary teaching, ESL, introductory classes etc); compensatory	MI is to become MaL speaking as fast as possible
2 *Social handicap, socially linked learning deficit* (the child's parents come from the lowest social classes)	*More social and pedagogical help* (aids, tutors, psychologists, social workers, career advisers etc); in addition to measure 1; compensatory	Same as 1
3 *Cultural handicap, culturally linked learning deficit* (the child has a "different" cultural background; the child has low self-confidence; the child is discriminated against)	*Inform* MI-children about MA culture/about their own culture; inform all children about MI-cultures/start multicultural/ intercultural educational programmes; eliminate discrimination/racism in teaching materials; attitudinal courses for teachers; in addition to measures 1 and 2; compensatory	MiL in the family 1-2 generations; MI-children need help to appreciate MI-culture (until they become MaL speaking)
4 *Linguistic L1-related handicap, learning deficit because of L1 deprivation* (the child does not know her own L properly and has therefore poor grounding for the learning of L2 CALP) (the child loses content while learning L2)	*Teaching of L1 as subject; elementary education through the medium of L1 with as fast a transition to L2-medium as possible.* MiL has no intrinsic value, it is therapeutic; compensatory (more self-confidence, better co-operation with home, gives better basis for MaL learning, functions as bridge for transmission of content during L2-learning); in addition to measures 1 and 3	Same as 3
Enrichment theories		
5 High levels of bilingualism beneficial for the individual but difficult to attain, demands much work and energy. The primary goal is to learn MaL properly; it is a prerequisite for equal opportunity	Teaching through the medium of MiL for several years inside MA-school; obligatory teaching of MaL; transition to MaL-medium teaching after elementary education	MiL is allowed to be maintained for private use; bilingualism necessary; MiL is allowed to exist (in a diglossic situation) as long as demographic basis exists
6 Bilingualism enhances development. If problems arise, the causes are similar to those of monolingual children; some problems may be caused by racsim/discrimination	Separate, equal school systems for MI and MA children, L1 is medium for both and L2 obligatory (or possible to study) for both. Positive discrimination of the MI economically (smaller units allowed)	Existence of minorities is enriching for the whole society. MiL has (at least some) official status and its use is encouraged, also for MaL children

MI = minority; MiL = minority language; MA = majority; MaL = majority language.

From Skutnabb-Kangas, T., 1988a, p34-35

place), and all treat integration as a characteristic of the minority, not as a relation where both minorities and majorities have to change.

The enrichment theories start from the conception that schools should be adapted to the children, not vice versa. The child's mother tongue and cultural and social background should be a positive starting point for the school. The existence of minorities is seen as costly but enriching for societies, and bilingualism/biculturalism is seen as beneficial and stimulating for the child. If minority children experience problems in school, these may be due to the extra work involved [5] or, in the last phase [6], to either reasons similar to those affecting monolingual children, or these and racism, linguicism and discrimination. This report represents the utopian phases [7] and [8] and beyond... The author regards some of the arguments used in phase [5] as untenable, because they exaggerate the strain involved in becoming bilingual and because the thinking on which the economic arguments are based still sees monolingualism as something desirable from an economic point of view.

In the author's view, the only labour immigrant minority in the world which has come to the first enrichment phase is

Finns in Sweden. Spanish-speakers in the USA could have reached it long ago, but even the most progressive programmes for them have not come further than the mother tongue deprivation phase, while most of their education is still in one of the first three deficiency phases. When claiming that no others have come further, the author is disregarding both temporarily immigrated elites, NATO-officers, diplomats, oil experts, international businesswomen and civil servants, etc.,[68] and labour migrants who have set up their own schools at their own expense, without financial support from the receiving country.('Minority elites from the Third World in private education are as poorly served as minorities in general' says Anna Obura.)[69] The author is thus referring only to education inside the ordinary state-supported educational system.

Very few minorities in the world have come to phase [6], even when minorities are defined in terms of numbers not power. It is indicative that the best protected educational rights among this type of numerical minority are enjoyed by present or former power minorities (such as white South Africans, a present power minority, or Swedish-speakers in Finland, a former power minority, descendants of former colonizers). It is thus indicative of the importance of political factors that to date few countries have accepted the existence of minorities as a source of enrichment, unless these minorities have, or have had, the power to determine the conditions of their acceptance.

In some situations where there are equal minorities on both sides of the border (German-speakers in Denmark, Danish-speakers in Germany), this has been achieved. Some minorities in socialist countries have also succeeded. Some of these, for example Yugoslavia,[70] organize the education of minorities in ways from which other countries have much to learn. Some minorities in a few underdeveloped countries have also come a long way, for example in India.[71] And some of the well-organized labour migrant minorities might succeed, too, under the right circumstances. There is a wealth of international experience to share, because the linguicism is the same.

The following section looks more closely at the importance of minority mother tongues, especially literacy in them, in relation to Universal Primary Education, in the light of the above analysis.

'I thort that I might beabel to improove my spelling and reading. It as bean veary interesting we have hadto torc infrunt of a groop of peapel witch I think is veary inportent'.

This is what one of the participants in an Adult Literacy and Basic Education Unit course (for road workers, in paid company time, in the workplace) in Australia wrote after six weeks. The article describing the project does not specify the mother tongues of the participants,[72] but many of the participants in the accompanying photograph (p.9) have dark hair and look as if they could have other mother tongues than English. The extract above shows an acute metalinguistic phonological awareness – yet the writer could be considered functionally illiterate according to some criteria. Some 10% of Australian adults 'have significant difficulty with reading, writing and basic mathematics', ranging 'from being unable to read food labels, street names, bus destination boards or stories to their children, to being reasonably literate – able to read with difficulty most items in a newspaper and write simple sentences – but avoiding these activities because of lack of confidence.'[73] Almost 4% of the Australian population is officially defined as functionally illiterate,[74] but we do not know even there what proportion of these have mother tongues other than English.

Global figures for illiteracy, both absolute and functional, are notoriously both unreliable and extremely difficult to interpret. The general picture is that while the percentages of illiterates are slowly declining in most countries, the absolute number is increasing. In UNESCO's 1988 Statistical Yearbook the information on illiteracy is presented only for 132 out of the 207 countries and territories. Many of the missing ones are known to have high illiteracy rates (Chad, Gambia, Namibia, Nigeria, etc.) while some others have a high literacy rate (for instance, only ten European countries are listed as having illiterates). Illiteracy is rapidly increasing in many of the missing countries such as Sweden, UK, USA, France, West Germany, in part because of the post-war immigrant population which is being under- or miseducated, as this report shows. Some of the UNESCO figures given are almost 20 years old. Most of them are for populations 15 years of age and over, but several countries (Mauritania, Dominican Republic, Afghanistan, Iran) give the figures from five or six years upwards, many from ten, and some countries also have an upper limit, meaning people over the age of 45, 49 or 59 (Sudan, Cuba, Iran, USSR, Suriname) are not counted. A large proportion of the world's illiterates are female.

The only language-related direct information on illiteracy in the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook is for Tanzania where the figures given are for illiterates in Kiswahili (meaning any otherwise literate person would count as illiterate if they lived there without learning Kiswahili). Indirectly, exclusion of what is called 'tribal', 'nomadic' or 'Indian' populations also gives language-related information. This is done for five countries. We thus lack even basic statistical information on the mother tongues of the world's illiterates. There are many analyses of and projects on causes of illiteracy, what could be done and what is being done. What we do not have is any statistical information on how large a percentage of the illiterates in the world belong to populations that would have to accept instruction in a second or foreign language if they were to attend schools or courses, and how many are absolutely or, especially, functionally illiterate because they have been taught through the medium of a foreign or second language.

Even so, it is reasonably safe to estimate that the wrong

educational language planning policy which results in education through the medium of a foreign language has been and is one of the main PEDAGOGICAL causes for illiteracy in the world. This also means that functional illiteracy in particular will not be eradicated unless most of the mother tongues in the world are developed, at least to some extent, as languages for literacy. This is a huge but absolutely necessary task. Some of the principal reasons why it has not been done are touched upon in the remainder of this section. It should be pointed out that the issue is extremely complex, and for this and other important reasons, cannot be dealt with in this short report.

When former European colonies became independent, one of the most important educational goals was the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) as soon as possible. Many hoped that the damage done by the colonial powers could be quickly remedied.[75] For instance India wrote in her constitution of 1947 that a general eight-year education for all was the goal by 1960. During the 1960s most regions of the world where UPE did not exist formulated their goals at ministerial meetings, initiated by UNESCO. For Asia they were formulated in Karachi in 1960, for Africa in Addis Ababa in 1961, for Latin America in Santiago in 1962 and for the Arab world in Tripoli in 1966. According to most plans, UPE should be achieved by 1980; the target for Latin America was 1970. UPE was seen as a human right, which had been formulated already in Article 26 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which essentially affirms everybody's right to free and compulsory education at the elementary level.

But the Declaration does not mention in which language(s) this education should be conducted. Neither do many of the reports. Africa is one example. There is not one word about language in the main body of the Addis Ababa report. Countrywise African educational reports 'either ignored the language situation altogether or made a few routine references to improving the teaching of English'.[76] The Malawi report,[77] 1960 (three pages of 360 pages given to language), Uganda,[78] 1963 (three of 83); Ghana[79], 1967 (one of 160); Nigeria[80], 1960 (five lines of 8000) do not mention the almost 1000 indigenous mother tongues in the African continent. The few remarks on mother tongues in the Kenya report[81] 1964-5 (4 paragraphs of 531 on language) are 'negative, and a reversal came only in 1976. One explanation (but there are many) of the language policy in the Kenya report is that the majority of those who submitted views (listed at the back of the report) were expatriates in the education system and in policy making positions in 1964-5.'[82] Yet, it must have been clear to them, that 'a great deal of drop-outs and failure cases in schools in Africa are due to lack of ability to manipulate the language of education adequately' as Gilbert Ansre points out in an article where he shows that the arguments for maintaining European languages as media of education in Africa are false.[83]

It seems that many literacy experts also have a somewhat shaky knowledge of language issues. One of UNESCO's main experts, Professor H. S. Bhola, in his book Campaigning for Literacy (1984)[84], says that: 'literacy in a language other than the national language may doom those involved to a limited, parochial and marginal existence'. In claiming that 'a single language of literacy has contributed to the success of mass literacy campaigns in Burma, China, Cuba, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Somalia, to give only a few examples',[85] he has chosen some of the few countries with either few linguistic minorities or else an extremely widely understood lingua franca, and forgotten that this type of a situation does not apply in the large majority of the world's countries. A single language of literacy is a disaster in most multilingual contexts. He also claims that there are 'some 14 languages spoken ... , each by millions of people' in India, meaning he acknowledges less than 1% of the 1652 languages listed by the 1961 census. These have been reduced to 'a little over 400 languages, with innumerable dialects, sociolects, registers and styles'[86] by the Central Institute of Indian Languages. Fifty-eight of these are used in education.[87] Without acknowledging the decisive role of mother tongues and a more informed assessment of language questions in general, there is little hope to achieve UPE and functional literacy. The difficulties involved in doing this can also be seen in most books dealing with literacy.[88]

Two of the basic ideas clearly discernible behind UPE had to do with nation building and with education for development.[89] UPE was to help in developing an awareness of belonging to one nation among peoples who had more local or regional loyalties, but who had, mainly because of the European colonizers, come to be grouped together within the same state borders. In addition, UPE was also intended to develop a basic instrument for practising this national unity, namely a common language for people with different mother tongues so that they could communicate with each other. UPE should include learning (at least one of) the official language(s) of the country.

The modernisation paradigm in education for development held that education was one of the main prerequisites for 'modernizing' (away from traditional work habits, increasing achievement motivation, long range planning, rational cost-benefit analysis as a basis for actions, etc.) and thus for economic growth which was seen as the panacea for underdeveloped countries. Even after the modernization paradigm came under increasing attack as an economic theory, its arguments were still used (by UNESCO, by the World Bank) as a basis for educational planning.[90] Since the idea of 'modernization' included rapid spread of new technologies and ideas through education and mass media, a common language for this was considered necessary.

This meant that both basic motivating principles behind UPE led away from local and regional mother tongues, because both nation building and education for development seemed to 'require' common languages with more currency (even if this was not made explicit in the reports, only taken for granted). That is also understandable, because most of the leaders and planners had, partly through their Western education, been molded into believing in the superiority of the languages of the former colonial powers. As the Ghanaian linguist Ansre puts it:[91]

'Linguistic imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes and aspirations of even the most noble in a society and of preventing him from appreciating and realising the full potentialities of the indigenous languages. Victims of it are often convinced that despite the fact that large numbers of the public may not be able to speak the foreign language it is good for the country ...'.

Says Debi Pattanayak, the former Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages:

'Whatever may be the difference among the elite on the language issue they are united in their subservience to English ... The highly educated alienated minority elite continues to support English in the name of the minority in the firm belief that

English education is equal to modernisation. However, in reality it helps them keep the control of administration and mass communication.[92]

At the same time UNESCO itself, through its expert groups, saw it as axiomatic that the mother tongue was the best medium for education, at least during elementary education.[93] The UNESCO experts used linguistic, psychological, pedagogical and sociological arguments in order to show why the mother tongues were to be used. On the other hand, in a lively debate on the issue, the critics of the UNESCO recommendation accused the recommendation of naivety and used mainly political and economic[94] – and these can now, with hindsight, be summed up as belonging under the leaky umbrella of nation building and education for development, respectively.

To date UPE is an ideal and far from being a reality. The net enrolment ratio in elementary education among the 6-11 year olds was 63% for Africa, 66% for Asia and 81% for Latin America in 1980.[95] In 1980, the gross enrolment ratio for elementary education (which can be 15-20% higher than the net enrolment ratio, because of the discrepancy between the appropriate age for every class level) was under 50% in 15 countries (mostly in Africa) and under 80% in 35 countries.[96]

In addition to the children who never come to school, reaching the goal of (absolute or functional) literacy is diluted by the large numbers of children who drop out before finishing their primary education. It has been assessed that achieving a lasting minimal level of literacy requires at least four years of schooling.[97] This was, in fact, conventional wisdom already in the 1950s, when the Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office[98] concluded their large review of West and East African educational policies and practices, estimating that 'for children who completed less than four years of schooling, no lasting literacy benefits materialized and the experience of school could well be psychologically damaging'.

According to UNESCO statistics[99] the proportion of children who drop out before grade 4 was over 50% in 12 countries and between 25-50% in 32 countries. Yet there are no clear-cut correlations between the rate of drop-outs on the one hand and the gross enrolment ratio or the gross national product on the other hand.[100] The figures become even more disturbing if functional literacy is defined as including six years of education, which is the most common current usage, although figures up to 12 years have been suggested.[101]

The author of this report asserts that one of the main reasons for the general lack of success of UPE and world literacy has been the linguicist educational policy, where, in the name of the political and economic arguments of 'nation building' and 'modernization', education has been attempted through the medium of a language foreign to a majority of the pupils, against a range of pedagogical, psychological, linguistic and sociological arguments. Paradoxically, then, UNESCO has been supporting a policy which even its own expert groups already in the early 1950s saw as unfit. Yet, in the author's opinion, the political and economic arguments used against mother tongue medium education seem to have been more naive than the 'naive', 'romantic' and 'utopian' linguistic, psychological, pedagogical and sociological arguments for mother tongue medium education.

The myth that national unity demands one language, has been effectively dismantled by many researchers. Hans Dua points out that the language policies followed in many underdeveloped countries favour the: 'colonial languages of wider communication' and 'ignore the multilingual reality of linguistically heterogeneous developing nations by inculcating one-language policy for national unity. The multilingual reality dictates that the developing nations should aim at unity underlying diversity in their educational language planning rather than seek triumph over diversity through uniformizing and stultifying constraints of one-language policy'.[102]

In one article, Debi Pattanayak[103] answers a question as to whether a country of many languages is not always threatened by disintegration: 'Yes. It is in the same sense that a plural world is always threatened by disintegration. No more, no less. If this leads one to the position that all languages in the world should give way to a single language, all religions should merge into one, all ethnicities should merge and fuse into one, one is arguing in favour of a reductionism which is fraught with serious consequences for the survival of humanity. Ecology shows that a variety of forms is a prerequisite for biological survival. Monocultures are vulnerable and easily destroyed. Plurality in human ecology functions in the same way. One language in one nation does not bring about equity or harmony for members or groups of that nation.'

Enriquez and Protacio-Marcelino[104] see:
'the continued use of English and, with it, an American-oriented curriculum as psychologically and politically inimical to the nationalist and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people ... it fosters further regionalism and obstructs national unity'.

There is also an increasing disillusionment especially among analysts who themselves represent underdeveloped countries (but also among others), not only with the modernization paradigm but with other economistic development paradigms also. This is how Johan Galtung, a Norwegian peace and development researcher, formulates the criticism:
'In development studies ... development was narrowed down to "economic growth"; economic growth was then narrowed further down to increase in the gross national product per capita, which is another way of saying that the country should industrialize ... and do what the western, industrialized, capitalist countries had already done. There were obstacles. Social structures incompatible with this were referred to as "traditional", any opposing attitude was defined as "resistance", and sociologists, social anthropologists and psychologists were called in to try to come to grips with such impediments, thus assisting in the study of development economics'.[105]

Among the 'impediments' or 'handicaps' which many underdeveloped countries had, were their 'traditional' languages, which were seen as preventing both a free flow of information (through education, through mass media) and goods, and the national unity needed to allow for the centralized planning needed for development (without obstinate peasants who clung to the 'economy of affection' as a Swedish development economist has called it).[106]

Alternative theories are being developed. Some of these question both formal education as a road to development and the role of literacy in gaining access to books and literature. Hanf et.al.[107] thinks that 'optimistic assumptions about the contribution of formal education to the building of modern nations are questionable with regard to the functions of education in political recruitment, socialization and integration', and claim that 'formal education in Africa and Asia in its present form tends to impede economic growth and promotes political instability, in short, education in

Africa and Asia today is an obstacle to development'.[108] And Ivan Illich, in his long introductory essay in Debi Pattanayak's book *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue Education*, discusses the development of silent reading, which is in fact a recent invention. Earlier books were read aloud, as a continuation of natural oracy, and they often had a large audience. 'In most of the languages of India, the verb that translates into "reading" has a meaning close to "sounding". The same verb makes the book and the vina sound. To read and play a musical instrument are perceived as parallel activities. The current, simple-minded, internationally accepted definition of literacy obscures an alternate approach to book, print and reading. If reading were conceived primarily as a social activity as, for example, competence in playing the guitar, fewer readers could mean a much broader access to books and literature.'[109]

Other alterative theories, for instance the ones wishing to put 'satisfying basic human needs' instead of 'economic growth' as the goal in development policy,[110] may seem to some equally naive and utopian as the UNESCO expert group recommendations about mother tongues as the axiomatically best media of education seemed to some critics -but that is where the hope lies. Utopias may in the long run be our most realistic alternative if we want the planet to survive.

Galtung lists the basic human needs, with their opposites, in relation to the basic problems, ie. the types of impediments to their satisfaction, in Table 6.[111] Language is basic to identity. Therefore a fulfilment of basic human needs for development includes a basic human right to one's mother tongue(s), to being able to identify with it/them, learn it/them properly, use it/them in all official situations. A development policy which aims at universal literacy and universal primary education must formulate a policy which puts basic human needs, not economic growth, in focus. This means necessarily a serious reassessment of the educational language policies worldwide which have shown such miserable results.

It thus seems that both basic principles behind UPE, those relating to nation building and to education for development, have followed economistic, neo-colonial language policies which have in turn impeded national unity, and development and literacy. Besides, the principle of UPE itself may not be as soundly conceived in every detail as we would like to believe.

Table 6 **Types of basic needs and basic problems**

	Impediments to satisfaction	
	Direct (intended)	Structural (built-in)
Material needs (somatic)	SECURITY (violence)	WELL-BEING (misery)
Non-material needs (mental)	FREEDOM (repression)	IDENTITY (alienation)

From Galtung 1988, p147.

The limitations of existing international covenants

The political rights or lack of rights of any language cannot be deduced from linguistic considerations. They are part of the societal conditions of the country concerned, and can only be understood in their historical context, in studying the forces which have led to the present socio-political division of power and resources in the societies concerned.

Language-related rights have been systematized in several ways, including the following examples. Heinz Kloss[112] differentiates between tolerance-oriented and promotion-oriented rights. Juan Cobarrubias[113] presents a 'taxonomy of official attitudes towards minority languages, (where) the following can be distinguished : 1. attempting to kill a language; 2. letting a language die; 3. unsupported co-existence; 4. partial support of specific language functions; 5. adoption as an official language.' David Marshall[114] also discusses the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language' and the 'right to use your language for the activities of commercial life'. However, few researchers have tried to evaluate educational language rights.

Much of the further development of a mother tongue, especially in the more formal domains, takes place within the school system. Therefore it is important to see what kind of educational language-related human rights are guaranteed in legal covenants and other declarations of human rights. What kind of reference, if any, is made to language rights in education? Do children, especially minority children, have a right to be educated through the medium of their mother tongues? Do children have a right to become bi- or multilingual?

In order to assess this, Robert Phillipson and the author developed a grid, which attempts to chart some of the relevant dimensions of language rights.[115] This grid is depicted in graph form as Figure 1. The two dimensions used are degree of overtness and degree of promotion. Both are seen as continua.

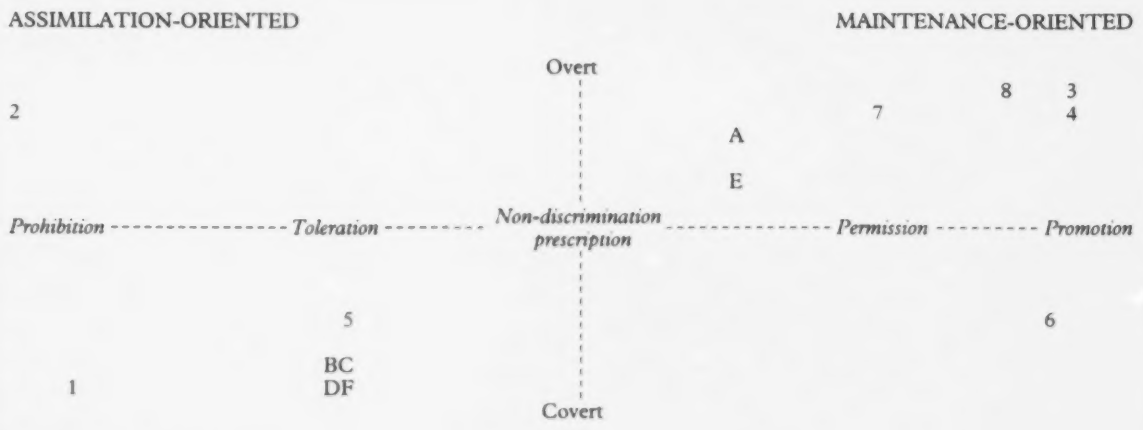
Laws and decrees can be more or less overt in relation to the rights of minority languages. The promotion continuum begins with prohibition of a language, which is obviously strongly assimilation-oriented. It continues via toleration of the language, a situation where the language is not forbidden (explicitly or implicitly), to non- discrimination prescription, where discrimination of people on the basis of language is forbidden, either overtly (discrimination is made illegal in a way which is explicit enough not to cause difficulties of legal interpretation and/or where there may be sanctions of some kind) or covertly (as part of general legislation on countering discrimination). The next point on the continuum is permission to use the minority language. At the other end of the continuum is promotion of the minority language. This is obviously oriented toward maintaining it.

The use of the grid is demonstrated by a few samples from the study and plotting them onto the grid.

Example 1: Senator Huddleston's draft English Language Amendment (ELA), USA:
'Section 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States'.[116]

This is an example of covert assimilation-oriented prohibition of minority languages. It makes no mention of other languages, but would implicitly prohibit their use in functions which are carried out in an official language. It

Figure 1 **Language rights in selected countries and covenants**



From: Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson,
Wanted! Linguistic Human Rights, 1989, p12, p18

would force minority language speakers to use English for all official purposes instead of their own languages.

Example 2: Senator Hayakawa's ELA, USA:
In Senator Hayakawa's version the same Section 1. as above is followed by a Section 2:
'Section 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall make or enforce any law which requires the use of any language other than English.[117]

This overt assimilation-oriented prohibition could prevent both voting information and education in Spanish, Chinese and other languages. It has been reliably reported to the author that in one of the around 20 states which have already passed some form of an ELA, the names of plants and animals in a botanical garden and a zoo are no longer allowed to be displayed in Latin.

Example 3: Yugoslavia
Yugoslavia's Constitution guarantees to every individual *'the right to instruction in their own language' in the regions they natively inhabit'.*[118]

This is overt maintenance-oriented promotion.

Example 4: Swedish-speakers, Finland:
The Finnish constitution states:
'... the cultural and economic needs of the Finnish and Swedish speaking populations shall be equally and uniformly guaranteed by the state'.[119] *Furthermore, according to regulations for schools: 'Municipalities have an obligation to found a lower level comprehensive school [grades 1-6] for minority children, if the number of children in the municipality needing education in their own language is a minimum of 13.*[120]

This is also overt maintenance-oriented promotion.

Example 5: Sami, Finland
There are no linguistic educational legal rights for Sami in Finland. They are not mentioned in the constitution or school regulations but nor do these prescribe or enjoin the use of any language for everybody. Sami is, in fact, used as the medium of education in some schools. This is covert assimilation-oriented toleration. There is a new Sami Language Law in preparation but the changes suggested so far are minor in terms of the placement on the grid.

Example 6: India
The Consitution of India says in Article 30 (I) and (II):
(I). 'All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational insitutions of their choice.' (II) 'The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.[121]

(I) alone would be considered overt maintenance-oriented permission, (II) alone would be overt non-discrimination prescription but together they amount to covert maintenance- oriented promotion.

Example 7: African National Congress (ANC) and others, South Africa
The Freedom Charter of South Africa, adopted in 1955 declares:
'We the peoples of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: ...All national groups shall have equal rights...
...All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs...[122]

This is overt maintenance-oriented permission.

Example 8: The Basque Normalization Law, Basque Country, Spain
The Article 5 stated:
1.'All citizens of the Basque Country have the right to know and use both official languages.
2. 'Citizens of the Basque Country have the following fundamental language rights: a. The right to use Basque or Castilian orally and/or in writing with the Administration and any organism within the Autonomous Community. b. The right

to education in both official languages...
3. The public powers will ensure the exercise of these rights within the territory of the Autonomous Community in order to make them real and effective.'

This Article, which would be at least overt maintenance-oriented permission, if not promotion, was vetoed by the central Spanish authorities.

Also placed on the grid are the results of a review of international and European conventions and decrees:
A: The Charter of the United Nations 1945;
B: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948;
C: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966;
D: The UN Declaration of Children's Rights 1959;
E: The draft Convention on the Rights of the Child 1988;
F: The Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms 1950.[123]

In the 12 countries which make up the European Community (EC), 50 million of the 320 million citizens speak a language other than the main or official language of the state in which they live. Pressure from these speakers of the 'Lesser Used Languages' has led to the passing of several European Parliament resolutions aimed at guaranteeing rights to speakers of dominated indigenous languages. The most significant is the Kuijpers Resolution, adopted on 30 October 1987, which would represent half-overt maintenance- oriented support. It:

'recommends to Member States that they carry out education measures including: ... arranging for pre-school to university education and continuing education to be officially conducted in the regional minority languages in the language areas concerned on an equal footing with instruction in the national languages,...'.

There are similar recommendations on the use of these languages in public and judicial administration and the mass media.[124]

But European Parliament resolutions are not binding on member states, so their value lies more in creating a climate of awareness of the issues and in the potential they represent for influencing national government policies.

The study concludes that no legally binding declarations are mother tongue maintenance- oriented. None of them comes further than overt non-discrimination prescription. Most require only covert toleration of minority mother tongues. The study concludes that not even overt maintenance-oriented permission is sufficient for minority (or powerless majority) mother tongues to be maintained and developed. What they need is overt maintenance-oriented promotion. This necessarily includes the allocation of the economic resources to support mother tongue medium schools – one of the crucial deficiencies in UNESCO's own Convention against Discrimination in Education. No international covenants guarantee this to any minority groups, or to any individuals (regardless of whether the individuals come from a linguistic minority or majority).

A central conclusion in the study is that the existing international or 'universal' declarations are in no way adequate to provide support for dominated languages. The evidence unmistakably shows that while individuals and groups are supposed to enjoy 'cultural' and 'social' rights, linguistic human rights are neither guaranteed nor protected.

In order to avoid institutional discrimination, in education and elsewhere, against minority language children, there is a need for clear-cut international standards which explicitly promote minority languages within a maintenance-oriented framework. Most existing declarations tend to be too vague and conceptually confused, and both the right of redress and the economic prerequisites for using the rights have been deficient.

Towards the formulation of linguistic human rights

At an international seminar on Human Rights and Cultural Rights held in October 1987 in Recife, Brazil, organized by the International Association for Cross-cultural Communication (AIMAV) and UNESCO, a Declaration of Recife was adopted. It ends as follows:

'Hence, conscious of the need to provide explicit legal guarantees for linguistic rights to individuals and groups by the appropriate bodies of the member states of the United Nations, recommends that steps be taken by the United Nations to adopt and implement a Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights which would require a reformulation of national, regional, and international language policies.'

A preliminary Declaration – 'Resolution on Linguistic Rights'/'Resolucao sobre Direitos Linguisticos' was also adopted by the Seminar. It is based a provisional declaration first proposed by the author in 1984:[125]

'1. Every social group has the right to positively identify with one or more languages and to have such identification accepted and respected by others;
2. Every child has the right to learn the language(s) of his/her group fully;
3. Every person has the right to use the language(s) of his/her group in any official situation;
4. Every person has the right to learn fully at least one of the official languages in the country where s/he is resident, according to her/his own choice.'

There have been follow-up gatherings at UNESCO in Paris in April 1989 and in Frankfurt in October 1989, organized by the Federation Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FIPLV), as a result of which a revised, expanded document will be circulated to a substantial number of professional associations and researchers, and the elaborate machinery for processing such a declaration will be set in motion.

One issue which has yet to be clarified is whether the right to learn foreign languages will be included. There is currently considerable pressure within many European countries to ensure that all European children learn two foreign languages at school. The LINGUA and ERASMUS programmes (pupil, student and teacher mobility schemes) are designed to implement such a policy, and the disagreement between Britain and its European partners (Britain has refused to agree on a policy of two foreign languages in schools) reflects a major difference in perception of the issues. The British government insularly assume that the dominant position of English internationally is in its interest and that having two foreign languages might endanger this. Continental European countries wish to ensure that their children learn English and one other language – French, German, Spanish, etc., ie. the dominant languages of two neighbouring European countries. This reflects the wish of Europeans to provide a counterweight to the pervasive influence of English

and to bolster the official languages of some other European countries.

There is a significant difference, however, between the need of dominated minority languages for protection in order to ensure their survival and basic justice on the one hand, and the urge to promote European unity through multilingualism for 'international understanding' on the other. It is undoubtedly a human right to learn one's mother tongue, a right that speakers of the dominant language take for granted for themselves. Is it though, in the contemporary world, a human right to learn several languages in school? A variety of answers is possible to this question, reflecting the complexity of the issues involved.

From the author's point of view it is imperative to differentiate between necessary rights and enrichment-oriented rights. The rights in the four-point Declaration of Recife are necessary for linguistic, psychological, cultural, social and economic survival for minorities and for basic democracy and justice. These rights should be seen as linguistic HUMAN rights. Most minorities do not presently possess these rights.

On the other hand, the right to learn foreign languages in school is oriented towards enriching the linguistic repertoire of both minorities and majorities over and above linguistic necessities. It can be labelled a LINGUISTIC right but the author does not see it as an inalienable human right. It can only be hoped that disagreement about the scope of linguistic human rights will not delay the elaboration of a declaration which provides substantial guarantees for dominated (minority) languages.

The recent Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights[128] is a pointer in the right direction, as it establishes as fundamental human rights that indigenous peoples are entitled to:

'*9. The right to develop and promote their own languages, including an own literary language and to use them for administrative, juridicial, cultural and other purposes.*
10. The right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own languages, and to establish, structure, conduct and control their own educational systems and institutions.
23. The [collective] right to autonomy in matters relating to their own internal and local affairs, including education, information, culture, religion, health, housing, social welfare, traditional and other economic activities, land and resources administration and the environment, as well as internal taxation for financing these autonomous functions.'

The international community thus recognizes that the linguistic human rights of indigenous peoples should be promoted. Very few ethnolinguistic minorities enjoy such rights at present, meaning that linguistic human rights are violated. Hence the need for a Universal Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights.

All the demands formulated in the Recife Draft Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights are met to a very large extent in relation to majority children. Nobody questions their right to identify positively with their mother tongue, to learn it fully or to use it in official situations, for instance in schools. For majority children these rights are so self-evident that they may never think of them as human rights.

Some critics might contend that linguistic human rights cannot be absolute ones, for example that it cannot be a human right to use one's mother tongue in all official situations. Many people might contend that a minority child who has, through her education, become bilingual in the mother tongue and an official language, can use the official language in official situations, and does not need to have the right to use the mother tongue. This type of argumentation neglects the link between use, competence and identity: if a language cannot be used, it will not be learned, and it is difficult to identify with a language one does not know. Not giving languages any official rights is an indirect way of killing them.

But even if all the rights in the Recife Declaration were not accepted as legitimate human rights, it cannot be denied that majority and minority mother tongues do not enjoy the same rights in the educational systems of the majority of countries. Groups defined on the basis of their mother tongues thus get unequal access to educational resources, ie. these educational systems reflect linguicism.

CONCLUSIONS

This report has attempted to summarize a mass of complex arguments relating to language and the education of minorities. As a result it has been necessary to generalize – perhaps overgeneralize – in parts and to leave out many of the specific examples which could be used to confirm certain points. Many of these examples are to be found documented in the Minority Rights Group's own series of reports on minorities worldwide.

Education and literacy (or the lack of them) are two of the most decisive factors in determining the life chances of today's children. Educational success depends on many factors, some of which are more open to change than others. Of those which can be changed one of the most important is language, ie. the medium of education. Statistical information is urgently needed on the proportion of illiterates in the world who have to accept instruction in non-mother tongue languages and how many are illiterate as a result of having been taught through the medium of a 'foreign' language. Substantial research is essential on educational language policy to determine how far education through the medium of a non-mother tongue language has been a major pedagogical cause for illiteracy for minorities. This is a huge but absolutely necessary task.

High levels of bilingualism and biculturalism benefit every child, but for minority children, bilingualism is a necessity. High level bilingualism can be achieved but it requires the adoption of the principle of institutional support for minority languages, which, without such support, are less likely to develop to a high level than are majority languages.

Yet it is not always apparent which language or languages need most support and what form that support should take. Many cases are relatively clear cut – minorities who speak a different mother tongue from the majority need consistent support for the minority language, which may not otherwise be sustained. In some cases the language which may need sustaining may in fact be the language of the majority, which nevertheless may be dominated by a 'power minority'. The downgrading and degradation of indigenous African languages in Africa during the colonial period and through neo-colonialism and its concomitant ideology, has produced a situation where African languages are in a weak position in education compared to the former colonial languages and where extra support for African languages is needed in the schools. If several minorities together form the majority, the choice of the medium of education perhaps should reflect the power relations between the minority groups and the group whose language they want to learn as their second language. The weaker the minority group, the stronger should be the emphasis on their own language. It should be possible for a member of a minority to be well-educated through the medium of their own minority language and yet to be bilingual.

Yet in a rapidly changing world, values and perceptions of language also change. In a period of revolutionary change and cultural revitalization then resisting or 'unlearning' a second language and learning or relearning a mother tongue may take a high priority. This means that there is a need for constant re-evaluation of the efficiency and value of language policies and priorities in relation to the historical and current situation. The criteria guiding decisions should be open to debate, especially in situations where what is beneficial for children for psychological, linguistic, pedagogical and sociological reasons is rejected for political reasons. This is the case in the non-education offered to many – perhaps the majority – of minority children in the world today. The political reasoning should be made explicit rather than hidden behind quasi-arguments of a linguistic, cultural, psychological kind. Honest debate can help to defeat linguist prejudices against minority languages and communities.

Very few educational programmes in Europe for the children of immigrant minorities attempt to make children truly bilingual, even if many claim that they do. They practise linguicism. Similarly many countries formerly colonized by European powers neglect mother tongues and the reality of their multilingualism when attempting to achieve literacy and Universal Primary Education. Once again they are practising linguicism. What is the reason for these biases? According to the author of this report it is not an information problem. Its roots lie in the reproduction of the unequal access to power and resources in the world.

It is not the purpose of this report to discuss the reasons behind linguicism. This in itself would need another report. Nevertheless there is the potential available in the world today for the recognition, maintenance and promotion of the language and literacy rights of minority groups, for effective bilingualism and for the eradication of illiteracy worldwide. Granting all peoples linguistic human rights would be one step towards these goals.

Footnotes

[1] The number of languages in the world depends on how 'language' is defined. There is no clear-cut definition. On linguistic grounds only mutual intelligibility could be a criterion, but even that is an ambiguous criterion. Understanding or not understanding another idiom depends on psychological, social and political factors (age, education, amount of exposure to other languages, motivation, status differences between the languages and the individual speakers, regional and social variety of the language, etc.) One example: Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish are considered separate languages, but are, at least in their standard written form, mutually understandable to native speakers. On the other hand, each of them has dialects which are not understandable to (some) other speakers of another dialect of the same language. 'A language is a dialect with an army', just as 'a nation is a tribe with an army'...

[2] Killing a language may sound drastic to some who might want to believe that the world is less cruel. For an insightful study about wars between languages, see Calvet 1987.

[3] See Ansre, G., *'Four Rationalisations for maintaining European languages in education in Africa'*, African Languages/Langues Africaines, 5:2, p.10-17, 1979; Phillipson, R., 'English rules: a study of language pedagogy and imperialism' in Phillipson, R., and Skutnabb-Kangas, T., Linguicism rules in education, 3 volumes, Roskilde, Roskilde University Centre, Institute VI, 1986, p.124-343, and other articles and references in the same work.

[4] See Cummins, J., *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy*, Multilingual Matters 6, Clevedon, 1984, for an overview.

[5] See Skutnabb-Kangas, T., *Bilingualism or Not – the Education of Minorities*, Multilingual Matters 7, Clevedon, 1984.

[6] See Galtung, J., *'Methodology and Development'*, Essays in Methodology, Volume III, Christian Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1988 and French, M., Beyond Power: On women, men and morals, Abacus, London, 1986 for a development of this thesis.

[7] Pool, J., *'National Development and Language Diversity'*, La Monda Lingvo-Problemo, I, p.140-156; slightly revised in Fishman, J.A., (Ed) Advances in the Sociology of Language, Moulton, The Hague, p.213-230.

[8] McRae, K.D., *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies*, Switzerland, Wilfred Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario, 1983, and see his other monographs.

[9] Fishman, J.A., *'Some contrasts between linguistically homogenous and linguistically heterogenous polities'*, Sociological Inquiry, 6, p.146-158, 1966 (reprinted in Fishman, J., Ferguson, C.A., and Das Gupta, J., (Eds), Language Problems of Developing Societies, Wiley, New York, 1972 and Fishman, J.A., Advances in the Sociology of Language, Mouton, The Hague, 1972.

[10] Fishman, J., and Solano, F.R., *Societal Factors Predictive of Linguistic Homogeneity/Heterogeneity at the Inter-Policy Level*, in Conference on the Basque Language, Area II, 1987, p.5.

[11] See Choudhury, S.C., *Survey of English: South Kanara District, Hyderabad*, Central Institute of Indian and Foreign Languages, 1986.

[12] Pattanayak, D.P., *'Monolingual myopia and the petals of the Indian lotus: do many languages divide or unite a nation?'*, in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, (eds.), Minority Education: from Shame to Struggle, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1988, p.381.

[13] For elaborations see Skutnabb-Kangas, op. cit., Chapter 2, 1984 and Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Phillipson, R., *Wanted!: Linguistic Human Rights*, Rolig-papir,p.44, Roskilde University Centre, 1989.

[14] See eg. Aikio, M., *Saamelaiset kielenvaihdon kierteessä. Kielisosiologinen tutkimus viiden saamelaiskylän kielenvaihdosta 1910-1980*, (The Sami in the screw of the language shift. A sociolinguistic study of the language shift in five Sami villages 1910-1980), Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1988, for the Sami.

[15] See Cummins, op. cit., 1984.

[16] See Edwards, J., *'Language, Diversity and Identity'* in Edwards, J. (Ed), Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism, Academic Press, London, 1984, p.277-310.

[17] Skutnabb-Kangas, op. cit., 1984, p.90.

[18] Ibid., 1984.

[19] See also Taifel, H., *The Social Psychology of Minorities*, Minority Rights Group Report, London, 1978.

[20] Miles, R., *Racism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1989.

[21] For an exposition of ethnicism see Mullard, C., *'Racism, ethnicism and etharchy or not? The principles of progressive control and transformative change'*, in Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Cummins, J., (Eds), op. cit., 1988, p.359-378. For linguicism see Skutnabb-Kangas, T., in ibid., p.9-44.

[22] For other ways of defining racism see Miles, op. cit.

[23] Modified after Drobizheva, L., and Guboglo, M., *'Aspects of Interpersonal and Intergroup Communication in Plurilingual Societies'*, handout for paper presented at the symposium 'Multilingualism', Brussels, 13-15 March 1986.

[24] Ibid., 1986.

[25] SOU 1989: 13, *Mangfald mot enfald. Slutrapport från kommissionen mot rasism och främlingsfientlighet*, Del 1, (Diversity versus stupidity. Final report of the Commission against Racism and Xenophobia, Part 1), Statens Offentliga Utredningar, Stockholm, author's translation, 1989, p.115.

[26] Zubrzychi, J., *'Australia as a Multicultural Society'*, Siirtolaisuus/migration 4, 1988, p.9-16.

[27] Allardt, E., and Starck, C., *Språkgränser och samhällsstruktur. Finlandssvenskarna i ett jamförande perspektiv* (Linguistic borders and societal structure. Finland Swedes in a comparative perspective), Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, 1981.

[28] Liebkind, K., *'Minority Identity and Identification Processes: a Social Psychological Study'*, Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium 22, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki, 1984.

[29] For an elaboration see Skutnabb-Kangas, *'Legitimating or delegitimating new forms of racism – the role of researchers'*, in Gorter, D., (Ed), Comparative research and development of theories. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Minority Languages, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Special Volume, 1990.

[30] See for instance Ngugi, wa Thiong'o, *'The language of African literature'*, New Left Review, April-June 1985, p.109-127; Decolonising the mind. The politics of language in African literature, James Currey, London, 1986.

[31] See Lambert, W., *'Culture and Language as Factors in Learning and Education,'* in Wolfgang, A. ed, Education of Immigrant Students, Institute for Studies in Education, 1975; and Lambert W. and Tucker, R.G., Bilingual Education of Children; the St. Lambert Experiment, Newbury House, Rowley, MA, 1972; Swain, M., and Lapkin, S., Evaluating Bilingual Education: A Canadian Case Study, Multilingual Matters 2, Clevedon, 1982.

[32] Jordan, D.F., *'Rights and Claims of Indigenous People – Education and the Reclaiming of Identity. The Case of the Canadian Natives, the Sami and Australian Aborigines'*, in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, op.cit., 1988, p. 190.

[33] Mateene, K., *'Introduction'* and *'Failure in the Obligatory Use of European Languages in Africa and the Advantages of a Policy of Linguistic Independence'* in Reconsideration of African Linguistic Policies, OAU Bureau of Languages Publications 3, 1980.

[34] See Phillipson, R., *English Language Teaching and Imperialism*, Transcultura, Tronninge, 1990. (Also forthcoming Oxford University Press).

[35] See eg. the Special Volume of International Journal of the Sociology of Language, vol. 60, 1986.

[36] See *Contact* Bulletin, published by the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, where almost every issue has examples of this.

[37] The Danish-based author and her British husband received the usual (English- language) letter: 'Dear Parent. You are the parent of a foreign-speaking child...' One of the children reacted: 'What do they mean, foreign-speaking. I don't speak foreign. I speak my own language'. The same letter, in Denmark sent mainly to Muslim parents, also requested the parents to give the child's family name, Christian name and date of birth...

[38] Pattanayak, D., *'Educational Use of the Mother Tongue'* in Spolsky, B., *Language and Education in Multilingual Settings*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1986, p.5-15.

[39] *The American Baker and de Kanter report* (1982), an official evaluation of bilingual education programmes worldwide, is a good example of these attitudes.

[40] See Cummins, op.cit., 1984, 1988.

[41] For details and examples, see Skutnabb-Kangas, op.cit., 1984, chapter 12.

[42] Clason, E., and Baksi, M., *Kurdistan. Om förtryck och befrielsekamp*, (Kurdistan. Oppression and the liberation struggle.) Arbetartkultur, Stockholm, 1979, p.75-76.

[43] Platero, D., *'Bilingual Education in the Navajo Nation'* in Troike, R.C., and Modiano, N., *Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education*, Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia, 1975, p.58.

[44] For an analysis of eg. Council of Europe's version of linguicism, see Skutnabb- Kangas and Phillipson op.cit., 1989, chapter 5.

[45] Quoted by Ashby, E., *Universities: British, Indian, African. A study in the ecology of higher education*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1966, p.153.

[46] Pattanayak, D., op.cit., 1986, p.29.

[47] The author's group, Finns, tend to do this when they immigrate to Sweden, and this is shared with many indigenous peoples who have also been colonized.

[48] See Preiswerk, R., *The slant of the pen: racism in children's books*, World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1980.

[49] See examples in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, op.cit., 1988.

[50] Some of the discussion that follows is also found in Phillipson, R., Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Africa, H., *'Namibian Educational Language Planning: English for Liberation or Neo-colonialism'* in Spolsky, B., op. cit., Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1986; and in Mateene, K., Kalema, J., and Chomba, B., *Linguistic Liberation and Unity of Africa*, Publication 6,

OAU Bureau of Languages, Kampala, 1985. It might also be added that the three authors (originally from Britain, Finland and South Africa, respectively and none living in their countries of origin) have personal experience of all the countries and programmes described. See also Africa, H., *Language in Education in a Multilingual State: a case study of the role of English in the educational system of Zambia*, PhD. Dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1980.

[11] See Cummins, op.cit., 1984.

[12] The Namibian situation changed rapidly during the writing of this report as Namibia gained independence in April 1990. The changes in the educational system will be extremely sensitive, since the SWAPO government may have to give higher priority to political rather than pedagogical considerations for some time, because filling the present pedagogically sound form (which is L1-medium) with completely new anti-racist, anti- colonial content may not appear to be sufficiently counteracting South African racist policies. On SWAPOs' considerations, see Angula, N., 'English as a means of Communication for Namibia: Trends and Possibilities', in Commonwealth Secretariat and SWAPO, English Language Programmes for Namibians, Seminar Report, 19-27 October 1983, London and Lusaka, 1984; and Geingob, H.,'Foreword' in Chamberlain, R., Diallo, A. and John, E.J., Toward a Language Policy for Namibia. English as the official language: Perspectives and Strategies, Lusaka, UN Institute for Namibia, 1981. See also Afolayan, A., 'Towards an Adequate Theory of Bilingual Education for Africa' in Alatis, J.E. (Ed), International Dimensions of Bilingual Education, Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC, 1978, and Afolayan, A., 'The English Language in Nigerian Education as an Agent of Proper Multilingual and Multicultural Development', Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 5:1, 1984, p.1-22; Bokamba and Tlou, 'The Consequences of Language Policies of African States vis-a-vis Education' in Mateene, K. and Kalema, J., (Eds) op.cit. 1980; Kalema, J., 'Report on the Functions and Activities of the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages' in ibid.; Mateene, K., op. cit. 1980; and Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 'The Legitimacy of the Arguments for the spread of English', op.cit., 1986.

[13] The situation in Uzbekistan is extremely complex to assess for outsiders without proficiency in any of the languages involved. The author's treatment of Uzbekistan is based on extensive reading about Soviet educational language policy (of both Soviet and other writers, but only in languages other than Russian, Uzbek, Tadjik, etc.), on many discussions with Soviet colleagues, both in Uzbekistan and elsewhere and visits to schools in Uzbekistan. It now seems that there may be a lot of relevant information not previously available and which might indicate that there is a more diglottic and conflictual situation. At the same time it seems that the lack of information about each others' situation which characterizes both East and West makes it difficult for all of us to relativise one's own experience. When Estonian colleagues (e.g. Matt Hint) see the fact that only 87% of Uzbek children are in Uzbek-medium schools as evidence for a harsh assimilationist policy, yet this should be compared with the fact that 80% of Finnish children in Sweden are in Swedish-medium classes, not mother tongue-medium classes, and all the other nearly 150 language groups in Sweden have even fewer children in mother tongue medium classes, most of them 0 per cent, and that it has taken more than ten years to get the permission to open the first Finnish-medium school in Sweden (which started in August 1990). Or that the municipal council in Haparanda, Sweden (with a large Finnish-speaking minority) has in February 1990 forbidden the use of Finnish in all daycare centres in Haparanda, even in discussions among the staff. The author would, of course wish that 100 per cent of all minority children, in Estonia, Uzbekistan and Sweden were in mother tongue medium education.

[14] Skutnabb-Kangas,*'Barns mänskliga språkliga rättigheter. On finsk frigörelsekamp på den svenska skolfronten'*, (Children's linguistic human rights. On the Finnish liberation struggle on the Swedish school front), Kritisk Psykologi, 1984, 1-2, p.38-46; Hagman T., and Lahdenperä, J., *'Nine years of Finnish medium education in Sweden – what happens afterwards? The education of immigrant and minority children in Botkyrka'* in Skutnabb- Kangas and Cummins, (Eds), op.cit., 1988., p.328-335.

[15] Chishimba, M. M., *'Language, Policy and Education in Zambia'* in International Education Journal, 1984, 1:2, p.151-180.

[16] Africa, op.cit., 1980.

[17] See author's typology in Skutnabb-Kangas, op. cit., 1984, p.125-133, and descriptions of some transitional programmes in chapter 11.

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[28] See, for instance, Baetens Beardsmore, H., *Bilingualism in Education: Theory and Practice*, Brussels Preprints in Linguistics, 11, Vrije Universiteit, Brussels and Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1990, on the International School in Brussels.

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